



THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS
IN
ARIZONA AND SONORA.

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THE
FRANCISCANS IN ARIZONA

BY

Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.,
Author of "The Franciscans in California,"

WITH A MAP AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM.

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To
*The Martyrs of the Colorado—
Fathers Francisco H. Garces, Juan Diaz,
Juan Barreneche, and Jose Matias Moreno—
This Volume is Most Affectionately
Dedicated by their Brother in Christ—
The Author.*

276470

Some hints concerning the pronunciation of Spanish names and words occurring in this book.

A like *a* in *ah*. E like *e* in *they*.

I like the *i* in *fit*. O like *o* in *so*.

U like *oo* in *moon*.

C, (in America *generally*), before *i* and *e* has the sound of *s* in *so*, otherwise it has the sound of *c* in *care*.

G, (before *e* and *i*), is sounded like *h* in *hill*; otherwise like *g* in *give*.

H is silent.

J is pronounced like *h* in *hall* or *hill*.

LL as in *William*.

ñ as *ni* in *opinion*, or like *ny*.

Q like *k*.

X has the sound of *h* in *hat*.

Y, when it stands alone, has the sound of *ee*; otherwise as in English.

Z should be pronounced like *th* in *think* or *hath*; but it is frequently sounded as in English.

Ch is pronounced like *ch* in *charity*.

Other letters are sounded as in English.

P R E F A C E.

The present volume may, not inaptly, be regarded as a kind of supplement to "The Franciscans in California," since much that is related here occurred on California soil, and will be better understood in connection with that work.

We have chosen this title, however, because the Fathers whose missionary labors we have attempted to describe, and whose principal field of activity was Arizona, were sent out from entirely different headquarters. The Fathers of Southern Arizona and Sonora came from the missionary colleges or seminaries of Querétaro and Jalisco, whereas the California Fathers were subjects of the College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico; and the sons of St. Francis that entered Arizona in the north were members of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul of New Mexico. Nor could the author confine this historical narrative to Arizona alone, because, at the time the Franciscans labored in that territory, the boundary lines were not so distinctly defined as now. In fact the region was known by another name—*Pimeria Alta*. This comprised the southern part of Arizona and the northern part of Sonora, and was in charge of the Queretaranos, as the Franciscans from Querétaro were called.

As a rule, the author has confined himself to a recital of such historical facts as he deemed of sufficient importance to preserve the memory of the heroic men that braved climate, hardships, and perils for the honor of the Seraphic Order, the salvation of the natives, and the love and glory of God. This course may have rendered the book less entertaining,

but it secured accurate history in a small compass.

For a long time the field once cultivated by the old "Padres" lay deserted; but of late years the work, which Masonic malice and intrigue had interrupted, has been resumed by members of the same Order that for three centuries made such sacrifices in Arizona and other Spanish possessions. This time it is not the South that furnishes the labors, but the East. The provinces of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of St. John the Baptist are now endeavoring to reclaim the territory so long occupied by their Spanish predecessors. May the same ardent zeal, persistent energy, and heroic patience that characterized the Queretaranos animate their brethren of our time.

The Province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, St. Louis, Mo., has accepted Southern Arizona, and thus follows in the footsteps of the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro; whilst the Province of St. John the Baptist has embraced the north, once under the jurisdiction of the New Mexican Fathers.

May the sons of both provinces vie with one another as true disciples of St. Francis in rescuing the natives from the dense ignorance and cold indifference that have so firm a hold upon them now. The dreams of the intrepid Fr. Márcos de Niza and of the apostolic Fr. Garcés may then be realized, and Arizona truly become "*El Nuevo Reino del San Francisco*," as the discoverer of the territory named Arizona in 1539.

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CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERER OF ARIZONA—HIS COURSE THROUGH SONORA AND ARIZONA—DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVEN CITIES—INCIDENTS OF HIS TOUR—THE SEVEN CITIES—CIBOLA OR ZUNI—THE NEW KINGDOM OF ST. FRANCIS—NIZA'S CRITICISMS—BANCROFT—BLEA—WINSHIP PARKER—C. F. LUMMIS.

The honor of having discovered the territory comprising Arizona, and of having first planted the Cross in the very heart of the American continent, more than a thousand miles from either ocean, the Mexican Gulf, or Hudson Bay, is due to the zeal of a son of St. Francis. The survivors of the ill-fated Florida expedition under Pámphilo de Narvaez, 1526-1528, had given such glowing descriptions respecting the populous towns of which they had heard on their march across the country to Sinaloa, that Fr. Márcos de Niza, a Franciscan friar, offered to explore those regions and preach the Gospel to the natives. His offer was accepted by Viceroy Mendoza of Mexico, who directed the Father to advance and penetrate into the interior. "If God, Our Lord, is pleased," said the pious Mendoza in his instructions, "that you find any large town where it seems to you that there is a good opportunity for establishing a convent, and of sending religious to be employed in the conversion, you are to advise me by Indians, or to return in person to Culiacán. With all secrecy you are to give notice, that preparations be made without delay, because the service of Our Lord and the good of the people of the land is the aim of the pacification of whatever is discovered." (1) "The religious was duly

(1) *Cronica de Xalisco*, 305-307; 325; Arricivita, *Prolog.*: "The Spanish Pioneers," 78-85; Shea, *Hist. Cath. Church*, Vol. I, 114-115. "Soldiers of the Cross," p. 28-29; Bancroft, *Hist. Ariz.* p. 27; *Marcellino da Civezza*, Vol. VI.

authorized for his mission by letters of obedience from the Superior, dated at Mexico August 27th, 1538. The document also states that Fray Márcos de Niza was a regular priest, pious, virtuous, and devoted, a good theologian, and familiar with the sciences of cosmography and of navigation." (2)

(2) Salpointe "Soldiers of the Cross," page 28; "14th An. Rep." p. 352.

If Fr. Arrievita's statement in his "Cronica Serafica," p. 3, be correct, the honor of being the first white men that entered Arizona is due to two other Franciscans: Fr. Juan de la Asuncion and Fr. Pedro Nadal. They are said to have left Mexico in January 1538, and have reached a point on the Colorado River at about thirty-five degrees latitude. Fr. Arrievita says: "El año de quinientos treinta y ocho por Enero salieron de México, por el órden del Señor Virrey, los Padres Fr. Juan de la Asuncion y Fr. Pedro Nadal; y caminando al noroeste como seiscientas leguas, llegaron a un río muy caudaloso que no pudieron pasar; y el Padre Nadal, que era muy inteligente en las matemáticas, observó la altura del polo en treinta y cinco grados." From this it seems clear that the two Fathers did not go beyond the Gila, though Fr. Arrievita claims that they reached latitude thirty-five, which is more likely an error due to the imperfect instruments used to make the calculation.

Archbishop Salpointe, following Arrievita, "Soldiers of the Cross," pages 6, 26, 129-130, writes: "The Franciscan Fathers were the first missionaries who trod the soil of the country now called Arizona in its full length from south to northeast. Two of these religious, Fray Juan de la Asuncion and Fray Pedro Nadal, left Mexico in January 1538, by commission of the viceroy, and went as far as a large river which they could not cross. There Fray Pedro Nadal took the latitude and found it to be thirty five degrees. The next year 1539, Fray Márcos de Niza with three other religious joined the military (?) expedition, and, travelling north some 600 leagues, arrived at the same river, which they called the 'Rio de las Balsas,' the river of rafts, on account of the floating apparatus on which the Indians used to cross it. The same author adds that this river had been since called the Rio Colorado. The latitude as they found it was thirty-four and a half degrees. Nobody will doubt the identity of the river on account of the difference of latitude between the two experiments, which can be accounted for by the difference of the instruments of that time and of those of our day. Another proof of that identity is that the Fathers, on both occasions, found the same Indians, the Alquedunes (Jalchedunes), perhaps the same as those we call now the Algodones, who in 1780 yet lived at the junction of the Gila with the Colorado River."

Mr. Winship Parker, "14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," p. 333, refers to the same story in these words: "About this time, 1537-1538, Friar Juan de la Asuncion seems to have visited the inland tribes north of the Spanish settlements. The most probable interpretation of the statements which refer to his wanderings is that Friar Juan went alone and without official assistance, and that he may have travelled as far north as the River Gila. The details of his journey are hopelessly confused. It is more than probable that there were a number of friars at work among the outlying Indian tribes, and there is no reason why one or more of them may not have wandered north for some considerable distance."

“The instructions of the viceroy, a model of careful and explicit directions, were handed to the zealous missionary in November 1538. The choice of a leader was beyond question an excellent one, and Mendoza had every reason to feel confidence in the success of his undertaking.” (3)

After an ineffectual attempt by way of the province of Topiza, Fr. Márcos set out from the town of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, on Friday March 7th, 1539, “with the assistance and the favor of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady, and our Seraphic Father St. Francis,” as he himself writes in his narrative. Accompanied by Father Honorato (4), and taking with him the negro Estévan, or Estevanico, one of the survivors of the Florida expedition, together with a number of Indians from Cuchillo, Fr. Márcos proceeded north to Petatlan, or Rio Sinaloa. Here his companion, Friar Honorato, fell sick, so that it was necessary to leave him behind.

Thence, after three days, “following as the Holy Ghost did lead,” he travelled twenty-five or thirty leagues, always kindly received by the natives. He saw nothing worthy of notice, except that he met some Indians from the island of Santiago, (Lower California) where Cortés had been.

Continuing for four days through an uninhabited district, which is the barren tract between the Rio Yaqui and the Rio Sonora, a distance of something more than one hundred miles, he came to a people who had never heard of the Christians. They entertained him kindly, however, and called him “Hayo-

(3) Parker, 14 Ann. Rep. pages 354-355. “The instructions given to Friar Marcos have been translated by Bandelier in his “Contributions to the History of the Southwest,” p. 109. The best account of Friar Marcos and his explorations is given in that volume.” Ibid. (4) “14th An. Report, 355, Friar Honorato is styled “lay brother.”

Salpointe “Soldiers of the Cross,” p. 28, 30, says that Fr. de Niza was accompanied on this trip by the lay-brothers Daniel and Antonio de Santa Maria. I was unable to find this information anywhere else.

ta," or "Sayota," which in their language signifies "a man from heaven." These Indians occupied the valley of the Sonora River, called by Coronado the Valley of the Corazones. Here Fr. Márcos was informed that four or five days' journey into the country, at the foot of the mountains, "there was an extensive plain, wherein were many great towns and people clad in cotton." When he showed them certain metals which he had with him, "they took the mineral of gold," and told him that thereof were vessels among the people of that plain, and that they carried certain green stones hanging at their nostrils and at their ears, and that they had certain thin plates of gold wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walls of their temples are covered therewith;" but as this valley or plain was distant from the sea-coast, he deferred "the discovery thereof" until his return. By a reference to modern maps, it will be perceived that this valley, which Fr. Márcos was informed lies four or five days' travel within the country, corresponds nearly with the Rio de las Casas Grandes, where at this day are ruins about one hundred and fifty miles east of the valley of Rio Sonora. The ruins at the time of Fr. Márcos must have been famous cities among the Indian tribes. (5)

The seraphic explorer now travelled three days through towns inhabited by the people of the Corazones, and then, two days before Passion Sunday, which in 1539 fell on March 23d, arrived at a town of considerable size, called Vacupa or Vacapa, forty leagues distant from the sea, i. e., the Gulf of California. This place corresponds nearly with the present Magdalena on the Rio San Miguel, (6) and its in-

(5) Shea, I. 115; Lieutenant A. W. Whipple in 'Pacific, Rail Road Reports.' Vol. III. p 105.

(6) Shea says, "San Luis de Vacapa in Sonora." Ibid.; 14th An. Report 355; Bandelier identified Vacapa with the Endeve settlement of Matapa in central Sonora; Banc. agrees with Whipple; Hist. del Nayarit, 315; 340.

habitants were probably the ancestors of the Cocopa Indians, now scattered over the deserts northeastward, and residing near the mouth of the Rio Colorado. The people of Vacapa, he states, showed him "great courtesies, and gave him large quantities of provisions, because the soil is very fruitful and may be irrigated." (7)

Fr. Márcos remained at Vacapa until April 6th, in order to send to the sea coast and summon some Indians from whom he hoped to secure further information about the pearl islands of which Cabeza de Vaca had heard on his way from Florida. Meanwhile he ordered the negro Estévan towards the north, instructing him to proceed fifty or sixty leagues and see if he could find anything that might help them in their search. If he found any sign of a rich and populous country he was not to advance farther, but to return to meet the Father, or else to wait where he heard the news, sending some Indian messengers back to his superior with a white cross the size of a palm of his hand. If the news was very promising, the cross was to be twice this size; and if the country about which he heard promised to be larger and better than New Spain, a cross still larger than this was to be sent back.

Estévan started on Passion Sunday after dinner. Four days later messengers sent by him brought to the Father "a very large cross, as tall as a man." One of the Indians who had given the negro his information accompanied the messengers, and affirmed, as the friar carefully recorded, "that there are seven very large cities in the first province, all under one lord, with large houses of stone and lime; the smallest one story high, with a flat roof above, and others two and three stories high, and the house of the lord four stories high. They are all united under his rule,

(7) Whipple p. 105.

and on the portals of the principal houses there are many designs of turquoise stones, of which he says they have a great abundance. And the people in these cities are very well clothed.....Concerning other provinces farther on, he said that each one of them amounted to much more than seven cities."

"All that the Indian told Fr. Márcos was true," says Parker," and, what is more, the Spanish friar seems to have correctly understood what the Indian meant, except that the idea of several villages having a common allied form of government was interpreted as meaning the rule of a single lord, who lived in what was to the Indians the chief, because the most populous village. These villages of stone and lime, or rather of stone and rolls or balls of adobe laid in mud mortar, and sometimes whitened with a wash of gypsum, were very large and wondrous affairs when compared with the huts and shelters of the Seri and some of the Piman Indians in Sonora.

"The priest can hardly be blamed for translating a house entrance into a doorway, instead of picturing it as a bulkhead, or as the hatchway of a ship. The Spaniards, those who had seen service in the Indies, had outgrown their earlier custom of reading into the Indian stories the ideas of government and of civilization to which they were accustomed in Europe; but Friar Márcos was at a disadvantage hardly less than that of the companions of Cortés, when they first heard of Montezuma, because his experience with the wealth of the New World had been in the realm of the Incas. He interpreted what he did not understand, of necessity, by what he had seen in Peru." (8)

The story of the Indian did not convince Fr. Márcos that what he had heard about the grandeur of these cities was all true, and he decided not to

(8) 14th Annual Report, pages 255-256; Whipple.



SAN XAVIER DEL BAC.

believe anything until he had seen it for himself, or at least had received additional proof. On the same day that he received the message from Estevanico, there came to him three Indians whom he called Pintados, because their faces, breasts, and arms were painted. "These dwell further up in the country, towards the east, and some of them border upon the Seven Cities." These Pintados, probably the Pimas and Papagos of the present day, are still scattered over the country referred to by Fr. de Niza from Santa Cruz Valley to the Gila River, which perhaps may be said to border on the kingdom of Cibola (Zuñi). These Indians also gave the explorer an extended account of the Seven Cities, very similar to that of the Indian sent by Estevanico. (9)

With these Pintados and his other native attendants Fr. Márcos departed from Vacapa on Easter Tuesday. He expected to find Estevanico waiting at the village where he had first heard about the Seven Cities; but, though the negro had been commanded by the viceroy to obey Fr. Márcos in everything, under pain of severe punishment, he had pushed onward.

A second cross, as big as the first had been received from the negro, and the messengers that brought it gave a fuller and much more specific account of the cities, agreeing in every respect with what had previously been related. When the Father reached the village where the negro had obtained the first information about those cities, he obtained many new details. He was told that it was thirty days' journey from this village to the city of Cibola, which was the first of the Seven Cities. Not one person alone, but many, described the houses very particularly and showed him the way in which they were built, just as the messengers had done. Besides these

(9) Whipple p. 105; 14th An. Rep., 356.

Seven Cities, he learned that there were three other "kingdoms," called Marata, Acus, and Totontec.

The first of these, Marata, has since been identified with Matyata or Makyata, a cluster of pueblos, about the salt lakes southeast of Zuñi. Acus is the Acoma pueblo, and Totontec was in all probability the province of Tusayan, northwestward from Zuñi. The explorer asked these people why they went so far away from their homes, and was told that they went to get turquoises and cow skins, besides other valuable things, of all of which he saw a considerable quantity in the village.

Friar Márcos tried to find out how these Indians bartered for the things they brought from the northern country, but all he could understand was that "with the sweat and service of their persons they went to the first city, which is called Cibola, and that they labored there by digging the earth and by other services, and that for what they did they received turquoises and skins of cows, such as those people had." He noticed fine turquoises suspended from the ears and the noses of many of the people whom he saw, (10) and he was again informed that the principal doorways of Cibola were ceremonially ornamented with designs made of these stones. (11) The Indians described the dress of the inhabitants of Cibola to be a gown of cotton down to the feet, with a button at the neck, and a long string hanging down at the same; and that the sleeves of those gowns are as broad beneath as above." (12)

The cow skins, some of which were given him, were tanned and finished so well that he thought

(10) For want of turquoises the Pima and Maricopa Indians to this day frequently wear rings pendant from the ears and septum. (11) Mr. Cushing has learned from tradition that this was their custom. 14th An. Report, :55-257; Whipple in Pac. R. R. Report, Vol. III.

(12) Ibid. This description is simply that of a Pima cotton blanket thrown over the shoulders, Whipple says, and pinned with a wooden button at the neck. The natural folds of this garment would produce sleeves as broad beneath as above.

they had been prepared by men that were skilled in this work. (13)

Fr. Márcos had not heard from Estévan since leaving Vacapa, but the natives told him that the negro was advancing toward Cíbola, and that he had gone four or five days. The Father at once determined to follow the negro, who had proceeded up Sonora Valley, as Mr. Bandelier traces the route. Estevanico had planted several large crosses along the way, and soon began to send messengers urging the missionary to hasten, and promised to wait for him at the edge of the desert which lay between them and the country of Cíbola. Fr. Marcos continued his journey for five days when he crossed the present boundary of Arizona and Sonora, probably west of the Arizona Mountains. He then understood that after two days' journey he should find a desert, where there would be no food. Before he reached the desert, he arrived at a "very pleasant town, by reason of the great quantity of water conveyed thither to irrigate the same." This is the present site of Tucson. Here he met many people, both men and women, clothed in cotton, and some covered with ox-hides, which generally they take for better material than that of cotton. All the people of this village," says Fr. Márcos, "go *ineaconados*," that is to say, with turquoises hanging at their nostrils and ears," which they call *cacona*. (14)

The chief of the village and others visited him appareled in cotton, "*ineaconados*," and each with a collar of turquoises about his neck. They gave him rabbits, quails, maize, and nuts of pine-trees, and offered turquoises, dressed ox-hides, and fair vessels to drink from, which he declined. They informed

(13) "If for ox hides it would be allowed to read buckskin, the account would apply to the Pima of the present day," i. e., in 1853, says Whipple.

(14) Even at the time Whipple wrote, it was usual for the principal Indian chiefs of the Gila and Colorado, as well as those of Zuñi, to wear blue stones pendant from the nose.

him that in Totontecac there was a great quantity of woolen cloth, such as he himself wore, made from the fleeces of wild animals of the size of two spaniels which Estévan had with him; possibly the big horn wild sheep.

The next day Fr. Márcos entered the wilderness or desert, and where he was to dine he found bowers erected and food in abundance by a river side, probably a creek then existing between Tucson and the Rio Gila. Thus the Indians provided for him during four days that the "wilderness" continued. He then entered the Gila Valley in the region of the Pima villages, a valley well inhabited with people, who were dressed in cotton robes, with turquoises pendant from their ears and nostrils, and numerous strings of the same encircling their necks. Through this valley he travelled five days' journey, during which he must have crossed over the Salinas, (Rio Azul,) and ascended that river. The country was well watered, and "like a garden abounded in victuals sufficient to feed above three thousands horsemen." The boroughs and towns were from a quarter to half a league long.

Here he found a man born in Cibola, who had escaped from the governor or lieutenant of the same; for the chief the Seven Cities lives in one of those towns, called Abacus, and in the rest he appoints lieutenants under him. "This townsman is a white man (16) of good complexion, somewhat well in years, and of far greater intelligence than the inhabitants of the valley," or those left behind.

On questioning the Indian closely, Father Márcos

(16) "If is remarkable that at the present day, many Indians of Zúñi are white. They claim to be full-blooded Zúñians, and have no tradition of intermarriage with any foreign race. The circumstance creates no surprise among the people; for from time immemorial a similar class of persons has existed in the tribe." Whipple, 107

learned that Cibola (17) "is a great city inhabited by a great multitude of people, and having many streets and squares; in some parts of the city there are certain very great houses, five stories high, in which the chief men of the city assemble on certain days of the year. The houses are of stone and lime; the gates and small pillars of the principal houses are of turquoises; and all the vessels wherein they are served, and other ornaments of their houses, are of gold. The other six cities are built like unto this, whereof some are larger, and Ahacus is the chief of them. (18)

"At the southeast there is a kingdom called Marata (Casas Grandes?), where there were wont to be many cities which were built of houses of stone with divers lofts; and these have and do wage war with the chief of the Seven Cities, through which war the kingdom of Marata is for the most part wasted, although it yet continues and maintains war against the other.

"Likewise the kingdom of Totontec lies toward the west, a very mighty province, filled with great numbers of people and riches; and in said kingdom they wear woolen cloth, made of the fleeces of those beasts previously described; and they are a very civil people." Fr. Márcos also speaks of a kingdom called Acus, but its position is not given. The inhabitants requested him to stay three or four days, because from this place there were "four days journey into the desert, and from the entrance into the desert unto the city of Cibola are fifteen great days' journey more." Accompanied by thirty of the principal Indians with others to carry their provisions, he entered the second desert on the 9th of May, and travelled

(17) Baudelier and Cushing maintain that by Cibola the Indian meant the whole range occupied by the Zuñi people. See 14th An. Rep. p. 358.

(18) Ahacus is readily identified with Hawikuh, one of the present ruins near K'iapkwainakwin, or Ojo Caliente, about 15 miles southwest of Zuñi.

the first day by a very broad and beaten way. At noon he came to a water, and at night to another water, where the Indians provided him with a cottage and food, and in this manner he travelled twelve days' journey. At that point he met one of Estévan's Indians, the son of one of the Indian chiefs accompanying the Father, who, in great fright and covered with sweat, informed him that the people of the first city had imprisoned and afterward killed the negro.

Estévan, contrary to orders, had hastened to reach Cíbola before his superior, and, just before arriving at the first city, had sent a notice of his approach to the chief of the place. As evidence of his position or authority, he sent a gourd, to which were attached a string of rattles and two plumes, one of which was white and the other red. When the messengers bearing the gourd showed it to the chief of the Cíbola village, he threw it on the ground, and told the messengers that when their people reached the town they would find out what sort of men lived there, and instead of entering the place they should all be killed. Estévan was not daunted on receiving this answer. He proceeded to the village at once, but instead of being admitted, he was placed under guard in a house near by. (19) All the turquoises and other gifts which he had received from the Indians during his march were taken from him, and he was confined over night with the people who accompanied him, without receiving anything to eat or drink. The next morning Estévan tried to run away, but was overtaken and killed. The fugitives who brought this news to Fr. Márcos said that most of their companions also had been killed. There was much wailing among the followers of Fr. Márcos, and they threatened to desert him, but he pacified them

(19) This is precisely the method pursued by the Zuñis to day against any Mexicans who may be found in their vicinity during the performances of an outdoor ceremonial.

by opening his bundles and distributing the trinkets brought from Mexico. While they were enjoying these, he withdrew a short distance for an hour and a half to pray. Meanwhile, the Indians again began to think of their lost friends, and decided to kill the Father as the indirect cause of the catastrophe. But when he returned from his devotions re-invigorated, and learned of their determination, he diverted their thoughts by producing some of the things which had been kept back from the first distribution of the contents of his packs.

Then he explained to the Indians the folly of killing him, since this would do him no hurt, because he was a Christian and so would go at once to his home in the sky, while other Christians would come in search of him and kill them all, in spite of his own desires to prevent any such revenge. Moreover, he told them that he 'proposed to see the city of Cibola whatsoever came of it.' 'With many other words' he succeeded at last in quieting them, and in persuading two of the chief Indians to go with him to a point where he could obtain a view of the famous city. Fr. Márcos then proceeded, and after ascending a mountain he viewed the city from the summit. "It has a very fine appearance for a village," he writes. "It is situated on a plain, at the foot of a round hill, (20) and makes show to be a fair city. It is larger than Mexico, and it is better seated than any I have seen in these parts." The houses "were built in order," according as the Indians had told him, "all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs."

He learned, moreover, "that the people are somewhat white; they wear apparel, and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as tur-

(20) This description answers quite well for Zafí at the present day, 'says Whipple,' 107.

quoises wherewith they adorn the walls of the porches of their houses, their apparel, and vessels; and they use them instead of money through all the country. Their apparel is of cotton and of ox-hides, and this is their most commendable and honorable apparel. They use gold and silver, for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance than in Peru; and they buy the same for turquoises in the province of the Pintados, where there are said to be mines of great abundance." Of other kingdoms, Fr. Márcos says, he could obtain no information. (21)

When Fr. Márcos expressed his surprise to his Indian followers at the apparent greatness of the city of Cíbola, they told him that it was the least of them all, because they had so many houses and people that there seemed to be no end of them."

Having set up a cross amid a heap of stones in the sight of Cíbola, Friar Márcos took possession of that region in the name of the king, and named the country "*El Nuevo Reino de San Francisco*:" "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." Then he hastened back "with far more fright than food." In two days he overtook the people he had left behind, crossed the desert, hurried from the valley, and passed the second desert. Having arrived at the valley of Santa Cruz, he determined to visit the great plain he had been informed of toward the east; but for fear of the Indians he did not go into it. From its entrance he saw "but seven good-looking settlements in the distance, in a low valley, being very green, and having a most fruitful soil out of which ran many rivers." (22) He was informed that there was much gold in this valley, and that the inhabitants worked

(21) Whipple, 107-108. *Historia del Nayarit*, 315.

(22) Region of the Casas Grandes in Arizona, or the ancient kingdom of Marata, Whipple thinks, p. 108; 14th. An. Rep., 322;

it into vessels and thin plates, but did not suffer those of the other side of the plain to traffic with them. Having set up crosses and taken possession, he returned to San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, and finally to Compostella, from where in June or July he reported to the governor, whom he had kept informed by means of messengers from various places. In August Fr. Márcos went with Coronado to Mexico, where on the 2d of September he presented to the viceroy a written narrative of his famous expedition. (23)

“Fr. Márcos de Niza thus stands in history as the earliest of the priestly explorers, who unarmed and on foot, penetrated into the heart of the country, in advance of all Europeans, a barefooted friar effecting more, as Viceroy Mendoza wrote, than well-armed parties of Spaniards had been able to accomplish, and who more than three and a half centuries ago initiated a mission of the Franciscan Order, which was for years to spread Christian light over the interior of the continent long before the advance guard of Protestantism appeared in either Virginia or Massachusetts. Fr. Márcos opened the way, but the mission was not effectively begun till many zealous Franciscans had laid down their lives in the attempt to win the natives to listen to the Christian doctrines of which he was the first herald. The point reached by him was certainly one of the Pueblo towns near the boundary of Arizona and New Mexico, at degree 35 latitude, whose remarkable dwellings

(23) Whipple p. 108; Bancroft, 33-35. The 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 362, on the other hand, has the following about the report of the apostolic traveller: “Here” (Compostella) “he wrote his report, and sent the announcement of his safe return to the viceroy. A similar notification to the provincial of his Order contained a request for instructions as to what he should do next. He was still in Compostella on September 20, and as Mendoza and Coronado also were there he took occasion to certify under oath before them to the truth of all that he had written in the report of his expedition to Cibola.

and progress in civilization he was the first to make known.” (24)

Many writers, indeed, have questioned the veracity of Fr. Márcos, and even claimed that he did not proceed further than the Gila ruins, and imagined the rest. H. H. Bancroft, (25) who does not like to give the honor of having discovered Arizona to a *monk*, and who ascribes the feat rather to his negro servant, nevertheless has manhood enough to declare: “The fact that Coronado, accompanied by Niza to Cibola in 1540, with all his criticism does not seem to doubt that the friar actually made the trip as he claimed, is, of course, the best possible evidence against the theory that he visited northern Sonora, and imagined the rest. A close examination shows that nearly all the statements most liable to criticism rest solely on the reports of the natives, and only a few, like the visit to the coast, and the actual view of a great city at Cibola, can be properly (?) regarded as worse than exaggeration:....but there is no good reason to doubt that he really crossed Sonora and Arizona to the region of Zuñi.” (26)

“It has been the custom”, says Shea, “to assail this Franciscan in terms of coarse vituperation; but the early translations of his narrative contained exaggerations and interpolations not found in his Spanish text. This is admitted. Haines, in “Winsor’s Narrative and Critical History,” follows his real narrative and does not note a single statement as false, or bring any evidence to show any assertion untrue. That the Navajos wove woolen goods, and other tribes cotton; that turquoises were mined in New Mexico; that the Pueblo Indians entered their houses by a door in the roof, reached by ladders,

(24) Shea, Hist. Catholic Church in the United States, I, 118; Shea, Catholic Missions, 41-42. (25) Hist. Arizona and New Mexico, 27-32. (26) Banc., Hist. Arizona, 31; The Spanish Pioneers, 78-81; O’Gorman, 50-52.

might appear at the time as false statements, but are now all admitted to be true." (27)

The latest critic on the subject, George Parker Winship, Assistant in American History in Harvard University, writing for the Government in the '14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,' pages 362-363, declares :

"In his official report it is evident that Friar Márcos distinguished with care between what he had himself seen and what the Indians had told him; but Cortés began the practice of attacking the veracity and good faith of the friar, Castañeda continued it, and scarcely a writer on these events failed to follow their guidance until Mr. Bandelier undertook to examine the facts of the case, and applied the rules of ordinary fairness to his historical judgement. This vigorous defender of the friar has successfully maintained his strenuous contention that Márcos neither lied nor exaggerated, even when he said that the Cíbola pueblo appeared to him to be larger than the City of Mexico. All the witnesses agree that there light stone and adobe villages impress one who first sees them from a distance as being much larger than they really are. Mexico in 1539, on the other hand, was neither imposing nor populous. The great communal houses, the "palace of Montezuma," had been destroyed during or soon after the siege of 1521.

The pueblo of Hawikuh, the one which the friar doubtless saw, contained about 200 houses, or between 700 and 1,000 inhabitants. There is something naive in Mr. Bandelier's comparison of this with Robert Tomson's report that the City of Mexico, in 1556, contained 1,500 Spanish households. He ought to have added, what we may be quite sure was true, that the population of Mexico probably doubled in the fifteen years preceding Tomson's visit, a fact which makes Niza's comparison even more reasonable."

(27) Shea, Catholic Church in Colonial Days," vol. I, 117-118.

“The strange thing about all these reports is not that they are true, and that we can identify them by what is now known concerning these Indians, but the hard thing to understand is how *the Spanish friar could have comprehended so well what the natives must have tried to tell him.*” (28)

Bancroft asserts that Fr. Márcos did not visit the coast, as he seems to intimate, and that therefore on this point at least the Father lies. On this subject Mr. Parker (29) writes: “On his way up the valley of Sonora, Friar Márcos heard that the sea-coast turned toward the west. Realizing the importance of this point, he says that he “went in search of it and saw clearly that it turns to the west in 35 degrees.” He was at the time between 31 and 31½ degrees north, just opposite the head of the Gulf of California. If Bandelier’s identification of the friar’s route is accepted, and it has a great deal more in its favor than any other that can be proposed with any due regard to the topography of the country, Friar Márcos was then near the head of San Pedro valley, distant 200 miles in direct line from the coast, across a rough and barren country. Although the Franciscan superior testified to Márcos’ proficiency in the arts of the sea, the friar’s calculation was 3½ degrees out of the way, at a latitude where the usual error in the contemporary accounts of expeditions is on the average a degree and a half. The direction of the coast line does change almost due west of where the friar then was, and he may have gone to some point among the mountains from which he could satisfy himself that the report of the Indians was reliable. *There is a week or ten days, during this part of his journey, for which his narratives gives no specific reckoning.*”

We shall quote one more non-Catholic writer in behalf of Arizona’s discoverer, and then continue our

(28) 14th An. Rep. 359.

(29) 14th An. Rep. 359.

narrative. Mr. C. F. Lummis says of Fr. Márcos:

“And now we come to one of the best-slandered men of them all,—Fray Márcos de Nizza, the discoverer of Arizona and New Mexico. He was the first to explore the unknown lands of which Vaca had heard such wonderful reports from the Indians, though he had never seen them himself,—“the Seven Cities of Cibola, full of gold,” and countless other marvels. . . . Now here was a genuine Spanish exploration, a fair sample of hundreds,—this fearless priest, unarmed, with a score of unreliable men, starting on a year’s walk through a desert where even this day of railroads and highways and trails and developed water men yearly lose their lives by thirst, to say nothing of the thousands who have been killed there by the Indians. . . . Fray Márcos kept his footsore way, until early in June, 1539, he actually came to the Seven Cities of Cibola. These were in the extreme west of New Mexico, around the present strange Indian pueblo of Zuñi, which is all that is left of those famous cities, and is itself to-day very much as the hero-priest saw it three hundred and fifty years ago. . . . He has been accused of misrepresentation and exaggeration in his reports; but if his critics had not been so ignorant of the locality, of the Indians, and of their traditions, they never would have spoken. *Fray Marcos’ statements were absolutely truthful.*” (30)

All this goes to show that Fr. Márcos told the truth, and that his traducers from Cortés down have only given evidence of their ill-will towards the intrepid Franciscan explorer. Cortés himself had later on to feel the tongue of the slanderer.

(30) “The Spanish Pioneers,” 78-80, by C. F. Lummis, Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1893; H. Haines, History of New Mexico, 42-52.

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CHAPTER II.

FR. MARCOS AND COMPANIONS—FRANCISCANS WITH ONATE—MARCH THROUGH ARIZONA—FIRST MARTYR—OTHER FRANCISCAN MARTYRS—THE PIMERIAS—FR. E. KINO, S. J.—OTHER JESUITS—STATE OF THE MISSIONS.

As we have seen, the first white man to enter what is now Arizona was the Franciscan Father Márcos de Niza, who crossed the territory from southwest to northeast in 1539. He again passed through the same territory with Coronado on his march to the Seven Cities in the year following. It does not appear that Fr. Márcos preached to the natives on either trip, or baptized any of them. He was accompanied on his second tour by Father Juan de la Cruz, Father Juan de Padilla, and the lay-brother Luis de Escalona or de Ubeda. (1)

Fr. Márcos did not long remain with the expedition under Coronado after it had reached New Mexico, but returned thence in the fall of 1540 on account of feeble health. Hardships and physical suffering had nearly paralyzed the body of the already aged man.

(1) There were five friars when the expedition started out. "Los Religiosos eran cinco," Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, page 742; but the fifth, Fray Antonio Victoria, broke his thigh at three days' march from Culiacán, says Bandelier in *American Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 551. Shea, Vol. I, p. 128, tells us that, "the Franciscan Fathers Juan de Padilla, Daniel, and Luis, together with the lay brothers Luis de Escalona and de la Cruz, also accompanied the expedition of Coronado. Arricivita in "prologo" cited before has: "El siguiente año de treinta y nuevo (?) entró con otros tres Religiosos el Padre Fr. Márcos de Niza en la expedición militar." The "Crónica de la provincia de Xalisco," pag. 328, has: "llevando" (i. e. Francisco Coronado) "én su compañía a los PP. Fr. Márcos de Niza, Fr. Juan de Padilla, Fr. Juan de la Cruz, y Fr. Luis de Ubeda, y otros dos religiosos, partieron de Tepic.....a primero de Febrero del año de 1540," etc; vide also 'Crónica de Xalisco,' Lib. II, prol. XXII; XXIII.

He never recovered his vigor, but died at Mexico in the year 1558, after having in vain sought relief in the delightful climate of Jalapa. (2)

Not till about forty years later, 1583, did the feet of foreigners again tread the soil of Arizona; this time it was an expedition under Espejo, accompanied by Fr. Beltran, a Franciscan from San Bartolomé. This party entered New Mexico from the south, and crossed the line into Arizona near Zuñi, on the way to the Moqui towns in northern Arizona. Thence Espejo penetrated about fifty leagues farther west or southwest. He visited maize-producing tribes of Indians, obtained samples of rich ore in the region forty or fifty miles north of the modern Prescott, and then returned by a more direct route to Zuñi. Fifteen years later, 1598, just three centuries ago, a Franciscan, Fr. Alonso Martínez, accompanied an expedition from New Mexico to Zuñi under Oñate. Like Espejo he not only found crosses at the Zuñi towns, but three Mexicans left there by Coronado in 1542. Moqui was reached, and formal submission was rendered by the native chiefs on the 9th and 15th of November. (3)

In 1604 Oñate resumed his march with thirty men to go in search of the Mar del Sur (South Sea). On this memorable expedition he was accompanied by the Franciscan Fathers Francisco Escobar and San

(2) Fray Márcos was a native of Nizza, then a part of Savoy. He came to America probably in 1531, and accompanied Francisco Pizarro to Perú in the following year. There he is said to have founded the Franciscan province of Lima. In the "Crónica de Xalisco," page 280, he is styled "Comisario General del Perú." In the introduction to Velasco, Hist. Royaume de Quito, as published by Ternaux, also in the preface to Castañeda, Rel., V, he is said to have been the author of several works on the conquest and native races of Quito and Peru. In 1510, on returning from his famous trip to Cibola, he was elected third provincial of the Franciscan province of the Holy Gospel; but during a great part of his term he was absent in the north where he lost his health. The famous explorer died in the convent of the City of Mexico on March 25th, 1558. He was held in great esteem. Thus for instance, in the Crónica de Xalisco, page 280, Fr. Márcos is called "santísimo varón;" and on page 305 he is said to be "hombre docto y muy religioso." (3) Banc, Hist. Arizona, 346.

Buenaventura. The former was the Custos of the Franciscans in New Mexico. After touching Zuñi and Moqui, Oñate crossed the Rio Colorado, as he called the branch since named Colorado Chiquito, and bestowed the names of *San Antonio* and *Sacramento* upon two branches of the river later known as the Rio Verde in the region north of Prescott. Much of the route corresponds in a general way with the line of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad of our times. The natives here wore crosses hanging from the hair on the forehead, and were therefore called Cruzados.

Oñate kept on southwestward down the San Andrés (Santa Maria or Big Williams Fork) to its junction with the '*Rio Grande de Buena Guia* or Colorado River, called *Rio de las Balzas* by Father Nadal, and '*Rio Tison*' in Coronado's time. According to the pious Spanish Catholic custom of applying sacred names to every river, mountain, valley, or locality, the main eastern branch of the Colorado was beautifully christened *Rio del Nombre de Jesu*; it is now known as the Gila River. In January 1605 the expedition reached tidewater, and named a fine harbor *Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo*, because it was discovered on the feast of the Conversion St. Paul, January 25th. On their homeward march the explorers returned by the same route they had come along the Colorado. There were ten different languages spoken on the way by as many different tribes of Indians; Fr. Escobar, it is said, learned to speak them all. Food meanwhile became so scarce that the weary travellers had to slaughter their horses to sustain life, until they reached San Gabriel on the 25th of April. (4)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the

(4) Banc. Hist. Arizona, 346-358. It was afterwards learned that a Franciscan had visited this people, and had taught them the efficacy of the Cross in making friends, not only of God, but of white and bearded men who might one day appear among them.

Moquis, who like the other Pueblo Indians accepted Christianity, were often visited by the Franciscans, and probably were under resident missionaries almost continually for eighty years. (5)

In 1628 or 1629 Fathers Francisco de Porrás and Andrés Gutierrez, besides the lay brother Cristóbal de la Concepcion, reached the country of the Moquis assigned to them. They converted 800 Indians in a few years. Fr. Francisco seems to have been especially active in the work of conversion. This exasperated the medicine men so much that they resolved to remove him; but fearing the consequences of an open attack, they secretly put poison into his food. The Father felt he was doomed as soon as he had eaten what was given him, and therefore hastened to Fr. Francisco de San Buenaventura at Aguatuvi to ask for the last sacraments. Then he began to recite the psalm "In Te, Domine, speravi," and while saying the words "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," he fell forward and gave up his soul to its Creator, on the 28th of June, 1633, at Aguatuvi or Aguatobi. Fr. Francisco de Porrás thus became the proto-martyr of Arizona. It is not known what became of the other two Franciscans. (6)

In 1680 there were three Franciscan residences among the Moquis. One was at Aguatuvi, twenty-six leagues from Zuñi, where Fr. José de Figueroa, or Concepcion, was the resident missionary. The mission was dedicated to San Bernardino. Another residence was located at Jongopabi, or Xongopabi, seven leagues from Aguatuvi. It was under the patronage

(5) Banc. His. Ariz. 349. (6) *Iib.* "Martyrs of N. M.," 31-33. Fr. Francisco de Porrás was a Spaniard born at Villanueva de los Infantes. He received the habit of St. Francis at the convent of San Francisco, Mexico, on September 12th, 1606. In 1623 he was master of novices which office he held for five years. He then asked to be sent to the Indians in New Mexico. The petition was granted, and he left the motherhouse in 1628, together with Fr. Andrés Gutierrez and Brother Cristóbal de la Concepcion.

of San Bartolomé. This mission numbered 500 souls. Attached to Jongopabi was the missionary station of Moxainabi. Fr. José Trujillo was in charge of both places. The third residence was at Oraibi, or Oraybi, more than seventy leagues west of Santa Fé. Its patron was San Francisco, or, as some claim, San Miguel. The inhabitants at one time numbered 14,000, it is said, but a pestilence destroyed nearly all. Gualpi, now Volpi, with 1,200 inhabitants was a missionary station attended from Oraibi. Fathers José de Espeleta and Agustin de Santa Maria were the missionaries. These four missionaries lost their lives in the great Indian revolt of 1680. (7)

The Moquis, in 1692, like the other native tribes, professed a willingness to submit to Spanish rule; but no attempt was made on the part of the Spaniards in later years to compel submission. In 1700, fearing an invasion, the Moquis affected penitence, and permitted the Franciscans Juan Garaicoechea and Antonio Miranda to baptize seventy-three chil-

(7) See "Franciscans in New Mexico;" Banc. 173; 349; "Martyrs," 46. Fr. José de Figueroa was a native of the City of Mexico. He came to the territory in 1674. His mission was at Aluatu or Aguatuvi. It is not known how he perished, but the date of his death was the tenth of August.

Fr. José Trujillo was a native of Cádiz, Spain. He was received into the Order of St. Francis in 1634. After laboring for some time in the Philippine Islands, he came to New Mexico, and was put in charge of Xongopabi, or Mieschongopavi. In 1674 he wrote to a Father of the province about a little girl, who after ten years of sufferings had been cured of her sickness through the intercession of Our Lady. The girl told him to warn the people that after a few years this land would be destroyed for the want of respect towards the missionaries. For his part he hoped to see that time, in order that he might return to his Redeemer the life he had received from Him. His ardent desire for martyrdom was gratified on the tenth of August 1680. ("Martyrs" 53-57.)

Fr. José de Espeleta was born at Estella, in the province of Navarre, Spain, and came to New Mexico in 1650. Vetancurt says Fr. Espeleta was massacred on August 10, 1680, at Oraibi, together with Fr. Agustin de Santa Maria. Other writers claim that he was kept as a slave by the Indians, and used like a beast of burden, and as an object of ridicule for old and young. If so his martyrdom was a slow one. ("Martyrs," 48-49.)

Fr. Agustin de Santa Maria was the assistant of Fr. Espeleta. He was a native of Patzcuaro, Michoacán, Mexico. He was sent to Oraibi in 1674. Nothing is known of the manner in which he suffered martyrdom. ("Martyrs," 46-47.)

dren; at the same time, however, they declined to be Christianized, (8) wherefore the Fathers returned to Zuñi, whence Fr. Garaicoechea made a report on the 9th of June. It seems that down to 1767, about seventy-five years, Arizona had no resident Franciscan missionary in the north, whereas the southern part of the territory was in charge of the Jesuits. From 1719-1745 the Franciscans visited Aguatuvi several times, but as far as can be ascertained none resided there permanently.

It is to be observed here that in Spanish and Mexican times there was no such province as Arizona, under that or any other name, nor was the territory divided by any definite boundaries between adjoining provinces. The portion south of the Gila was part of Pimería Alta, the northern district of Sonora. A small tract in the northeast was generally regarded as belonging to New Mexico. The name Moqui province was sometimes rather vaguely applied to the whole region north of the Gila valley. (9) Arizonac, whence probably Arizona is derived, was the name applied to a place between Sarie and Guevavi. It is even now given to a mountain range in that vicinity. (10)

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, or about the year 1691, the Jesuit Fathers extended

(8) Bancroft 221-222: "Vete, padre, que todavía no ha llegado el tiempo para que volvamos a ser Cristianos," they said. *Historia del Nayarit*, Libro III, 430. (9) "Todo aquel dilatado terreno que desde la playa de Caborco se estiende hasta el Presidio de Ternate, y comunmente se apellida la Pimería Alta á distincion de la Baja ó antigua, que comprenden los Indios de la misma nacion Pima, y viven en varios puestos desde el desemboque del Rio Yaqui con poca interpolacion hasta las misiones de Tecora y Moris confinantes." (*Historia del Nayarit*, 285.) Thus Pimería Baja may be said to include all that territory of Sonora extending from the mouth of the Rio Yaqui east and then north to the Rio Altar. Pimería Alta would include all the territory north to the Rio Gila. "Toda la Pimería Alta se extiende desde el Presidio de Ternate en el rumbo de Oriente á Poniente, hasta las playas de Caborca, mas de cien leguas, y desde la Mision de San Ignacio, de Sur á Norte, hasta el rio de Gila, otras cien leguas. Arriçivita 396. (10) Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona*, 341-45.

their missions in Sonora across the border into Arizona, 160 years after the first Franciscan traversed the territory, more than sixty years after the first permanent Franciscan residence was established on its soil, and about sixty years after the martyrdom of Arizona's first martyr, the Franciscan Fr. Francisco de Porras.

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Kino, crossed the line from Sonora as far as Tumacacori with Fr. Salvatierra in 1691, and both reached San Javier del Bac about nine miles south of Tucson in 1692. (11)

In November 1694, he penetrated alone to the Gila valley in quest of ruins reported by the Indians. He reached the Casa Grande and said Mass in the adobe structure which had been visited by Fr. Márcos de Niza in 1539. In 1696 another visit to San Xavier del Bac is mentioned. (12)

The first formal exploration on the part of the government authorities in this direction was undertaken in November 1697, by a detachment of military accompanied by the Jesuit Father Kino. This party reached the Gila River at its junction with the San Pedro, whence they returned southward. Fr. Kino baptized 89 natives. Again in 1698 Fr. Kino returned by way of Bac to the Gila; but no particulars of this trip are extant. In the next year he reached the Gila about ten miles above the Colorado junction. The natives refused to guide him down the river, wherefore he went up the river eastward, and returned home by way of Bac. On this trip Fr. Kino named the Colorado *Rio de los Martires*, the Gila *Rio de los Apostoles*, and the four branches of the latter, that is, the Salado, Verde, Santa Cruz, and San Pedro, *Los Evangelistas*, names they did retain. In October of the same year he made another journey to Bac in the company of two Jesuit Fathers. In

(11) Historia del Yayarit, Libro II, Cap. V. p. 311-312. (12) Ibid. 315.



YUMAS IN FESTIVAL ARRAY.

April and May 1700 Fr. Kino was again at Bac and laid the foundation of a large church, which the natives were eager to build, but respecting the further progress of which nothing is known. In September Fr. Kino was in the Yuma country, and gave the name San Dionisio to a Yuma ranchería at the junction of the Gila with the Colorado. In 1701 Fr. Kino and Fr. Salvatierra again appeared at Bac and Tumacacori. Some time after, the venerable explorer passed from Sonoita to the Gila and the Colorado, and visited the Yumas in their rancherías. Early in 1702 Fr. Kino made his last trip to the Gila and Colorado, and this was also, as far as known, the last time he crossed the Arizona line. "There is no satisfactory evidence," says Baneroff, "that Arizona had either a regular mission or a resident Jesuit before Kino's death in 1711. A few rumors of padres stationed there can be traced to no definite source; and the whole tenor of such records as exist is against them." (13)

After Fr. Kino's death, for more than twenty years, no Spaniard is known to have entered Arizona. It is not unlikely that a missionary may have visited the rancherías of the Santa Cruz valley, but there is no record of such trips into Arizona. All communication gradually ceased; the Gila tribes forgot what Fr. Kino had taught them, and even the nearer Pimas and Sobaipuris lost much of their zeal for mission life. Only two or three Jesuits are known to have worked in the field of the Pimería Alta near the Arizona line before 1730. (14)

In 1731 there came a small reenforcement of Jesuits; two of them were sent to the north and effected what may be regarded as the first Spanish settlement in southern Arizona. Fr. Felipe Segesser

(13) *Historia del Nayarit* Libro II, 330-382; *Banc. Hist. Ariz.* 352-361.

(14) "En casi veinte años quedaron sin ministros," *Hist. del Nayarit*, L. III, 423-436; *Banc. Hist. Ariz.*, 364-366.

took charge of San Javier del Bac, and Fr. Juan Baptista Grasshoffer of San Miguel de Guevavi, which from this time may be regarded as regular missions, the other rancherías becoming visitas or missionary stations. It is probable that during the rest of the Jesuit period the two missions were but rarely without priests. Fr. Grasshoffer died; Fr. Gaspar Steiger was at Bac in 1733-1736; and in 1750 the missionaries were Fr. José Carucho at Guevavi, and Fr. Francisco Paver at San Javier del Bac. In 1736-1737 Fr. Ignacio Keller of Suameca in Sonora made two trips to the Gila and visited the Casa Grande. He found that many of the rancherías of Kino's time had been broken up.

In 1743 Fr. Jacob Sedelmair of Tubutama reached the Gila, and in the following year attempted to visit the Moqui in the north, but owing to the unwillingness of the Indians to guide him he did not get beyond the Big Williams Fork.

In 1750 occurred the second revolt of the Pima tribes, in which two missionaries, at Caborea and Sonoita, were killed, as were about 100 Spaniards. Bac and Guevavi were plundered and abandoned, but the two Jesuits escaped to Suameca. Peace was restored in 1752 and the missions reoccupied in 1754. (15)

During the remaining years of the Jesuit period, 1754-1767, the missions of the Pimería Alta barely maintained a precarious existence. "A few neophytes were induced to remain faithful, but the natives lived for the most part as they pleased, not openly rebellious, nor disposed to molest the padres, so long as the latter attempted no control of their actions, and were willing to take their part in quarrels with settlers or soldiers. Missionary work was at a standstill." Exactly how long the missions had been aban-

(15) Banc. Hist. Ariz. 362-369; Hist. del Nayarit, 431-455.

done after the revolt of 1750 is not known; but in 1763 Fr. Alonso Espinosa was in charge of Bac, as he was still at the time of the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. At Guevavi the missionaries were Fr. Ignacio Pfefferkorn in 1763, Fr. Jimeno in 1764, and Fr. Pedro Rafael Diez in 1767. The ranchería of Tucson was a visita of Bac in these years, and a few Spanish settlers seem to have lived there; but in 1763 it was, like the mission, abandoned by all except a few sick and infirm Indians. There were also nearly 200 Spanish settlers at Guevavi, Santa Barbara, and Buenavista. The missionary stations of Tumacacori and Calabazas were composed of Pima and Pápago neophytes; but the latter had run away in 1763. Respecting the expulsion of the devoted Jesuit Fathers by the Free Mason government of Spain in 1767 nothing is known, except the names of the three Fathers Espinoza, Diaz, and Barera, the latter at Suamca. The whole number of neophytes in 1764-1767 seems to have been about 1,250.

From the Spanish names on early maps the conclusion has been drawn that, up to the Gila valley, Arizona was covered with prosperous Spanish missions and settlements which had to be abandoned later in consequence of Apache raids; but the truth is, there was no Spanish occupation beyond a narrow region of the Santa Cruz valley, and even there were only the two missions Bac and Guevavi, with a few rancherías de visita under resident missionaries from 1732, or possibly 1720, and protected in their precarious existence by the Tubac presidio from 1752. The Spanish names of saints were simply those applied by Kino and his associates to the rancherías visited on their exploring tours, whose inhabitants, in some instances, were induced to make preparations for the reception of the missionaries promised, but who never came. It has also been the fashion to regard Tucson as a more or less prosperous town from a very early time.

Some writers even date its foundation in the sixteenth century, though, as a matter of fact, it is not heard of even as an Indian ranchería till the middle of the eighteenth century, and was not properly a Spanish settlement till the presidio was moved there in later years. (16)

After the Masonic government of Spain in 1767 had expelled the devoted Jesuits, all the mission property, since it was regarded as belonging to the missionaries and not to the Indians, was confiscated, and its care temporarily intrusted to royal comisionados. The result was that in 1793 the viceroy wrote: "There is no reason to doubt that they either wasted or embezzled the rich temporalities of all or most of the missions, and that these funds were lost, and decadence or ruin could not be prevented." (17)

CHAPTER III.

FRANCISCANS OF QUERETARO AND XALISCO CALLED—DIFFICULTIES—THE MISSIONS ACCEPTED IN THE PIMERIAS—STATE OF THE MISSIONS—FATHERS SAROBE AND BUENA—DON GALVEZ—MISSION TEMPORALITIES.

When the Masons had succeeded in getting the Jesuits removed, the southern Sonora missions were secularized and placed in charge of secular priests, but those of Pimería Baja and Pimería Alta, which latter included the southern part of Arizona to the Gila River, were offered to the Franciscans. For this purpose Viceroy La Croix requested the guardian of the missionary college of Santa Cruz at Querétaro to furnish fourteen or at least twelve religious to

(16) Banc. 373-374. (17) Banc. Hist. Texas and North Pacific States, I, 704; Hist. Arizona, 375; Vide also "The Franciscans in California" for similar results.

take charge of the missions in Pimería Alta and Baja.

A number of missions in Pimería Baja were given to the Franciscans of the province of Xalisco, who were to furnish eleven missionaries.

Fourteen religious out of a larger number that had volunteered were therefore selected at Querétaro for the northern missions. On the 5th of August, 1767, the whole community assembled in the chapel, and after singing the *Tota pulchra es, Maria*, to obtain the protection of the Mother of God, the new apostles embraced their brethren, and then set out for their long journey "with the blessing of God and St. Francis." The superior of the little seraphic band was Fr. Mariano Antonio de Buena y Alcalde. (1)

On the 26 of the same month they reached Tepic in Xalisco, where they were hospitably received at the convent of Santa Cruz belonging to the Franciscans of Xalisco. The Jaliscans who were to take charge of the missions in Pimería Baja, and the Fernandinos who were on their way to Lower California for the same work, also met at the hospice about this time. The religious were all detained at Tepic for about five months before they found an opportunity to depart for the north. At last, on the 17th of January the Fathers left Tepic, and on the 20th the fourteen destined for Pimería Alta, together with those appointed for California, embarked at San Blas on the two ships San Carlos and Lauretana. One of the vessels was driven back to San Blas by a storm, and the other was forced to make for Mat-

(1) Arrievita, 294-95. Arrievita says that Fr. Buena was also appointed Apostolic Prefect. He does not give the names of the thirteen companions, but as nearly as can be guessed from Bancroft they were as follows: Francisco Garcés, Juan Chrisóstomo Gil de Bernave, Francisco Roche, Antonio de los Reyes, Juan Sarobe, Martín García, José del Rio, José Soler, Juan Díaz, and probably Estévan Salazar, José María Espinoza, Juan Zufiga, and Felipe Guillen; Bancroft, Hist. Tex. I, 794; Hist. Ariz., 375,

zatlan, whence six Fathers amidst unspeakable hardships travelled over land. Those that had returned to San Blas again took to the sea and finally landed at the port of Guaimas, after a voyage lasting three months and nineteen days. They rested only four days and then journeyed the remainder of the way by land, a distance of two hundred leagues. Before the end of June all the missionaries had reached the stations assigned to them. Their only grief was that each one was left alone at his mission. Before separating from the missionaries destined for California, the Querétaro Fathers had formed a compact with them according to which each Father was to say nine Masses for the repose of the soul of any of the other band who should die on the mission. (3)

The missions of Pimería Baja accepted by the Franciscans of Jalisco in 1768 were the following:

Tecora, or Tecora, with the two mission stations Zaráichi and Onapa. Here, it seems, Fr. Fernando Ponce de Leon was placed in charge. The mission was attacked by rebel Pimas in 1768, and the visitas abandoned before 1784.

Arivechi with Bacanora as a station. Fr. José Maria Cabrera was the missionary.

Sahuaripa with the station Teopari. Both places were attended by Fr. Joaquin Ramirez.

Guazaba with the visitas Oputo and Cumpas.

Boca de Gandu besides the stations Nacori and Mochapa.

Boseraca with Guachimera and Babispe.

Bacoachi.

Cuguinarachi.

Unfortunately there is no record of the distribution of the Fathers to be found, nor even of the missionaries' names, except the three mentioned; neither is

(2) Arricivita, 395-396; Palou, Noticias, I, 7-12; Banc. Hist. North Mex., States, I, 706.

anything known definitely about their early work in the new field. Presumably they encountered the same obstacles, and struggled to overcome them in the same manner, as their associates of the Santa Cruz College in the north. (3)

The missions in Pimería Baja assigned to the Querétaro Franciscans and taken charge of in 1768 were:

Cumuripa ten leagues from the presidio of Buena Vista. Its population was 136 in 1772.

Tecoripa with the mission station of Suaqui, nine leagues, and San José de Pimas with the presidio, 15 leagues distant. Here Fr. Juan Sarobe was stationed.

Ures with the mission station Santa Rosalía, distant twelve leagues. This was Fr. Buena's residence for a while.

Opodepe with Nacameri, six leagues away.

Cucurpe with the visita of Tuape, distant six leagues. This mission was properly in Pimería Alta, and at first given to Fr. Antonio Reyes.

Onabas or *Onavas*, with the stations Tonichi, four leagues, and *Suapa*, ten leagues away. In 1772 the population was 1,141. It was formed into a curacy before 1784.

Carrizal was a mission newly established in 1772, but destroyed in 1773.

In 1774 the Querétaro Fathers transferred their missions in Pimería Baja to the Franciscans of Jalisco, and devoted themselves to the missions in Pimería Alta. As we intend to give a history of the Franciscans in Pimería Alta only, which included Arizona, the Jaliscan Fathers and their missions in Pimería Baja will not concern us further. (4)

The missions accepted by the Franciscans of Que-

(3) Banc. Hist. Texas, I, 710; 722. (4) Arricivita, 396; Banc. Hist. Texas, I, 722. Pitic, a pueblo where in 1770-1771 many of the repentant Seri Indians assembled, was for a time in charge of Fr. Matías Gallo. It later on passed into the hands of the Jaliscans. Banc. 'ibid. 709.

rétaro in Pimería Alta during 1768 were as follows:

San Ignacio with the mission station Santa Maria Magdalena, two leagues, and San José de Himuris, three leagues distant. Fr. Diego García was the first Franciscan stationed here from 1768-1772.

Santa Maria de Suamea with the visita Santiago de Cocóspera. It was put in charge of Fr. Francisco Roche in June 1768. In November of the same year the mission was destroyed by the Apaches after a hard fight with the Pima neophytes. The missionary then transferred his flock to Cocóspera, which also suffered in 1769.

Dolores de Saric with San José Aquimuri as visita. Formerly two other stations existed, Arizona and Busanig, which were deserted in 1766 on account of savage raids.

San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama with the visita Santa Teresa, two leagues away. The Fr. President, Fr. Buena, took charge of this mission in 1768.

San Francisco de Ati with the pueblo of San Antonio Aquitua as visita, five miles distant, besides two other stations near the presidio of Altár. There was no church at Aquitua, and the one at Atí was a very small and poor structure. Fr. José Soler was the first Franciscan to take charge in 1768.

Purísima Concepcion de Caborca with San Antonio Pitiquí, five leagues, and Nuestra Señora del Populo, or San Juan de Bisanig, two leagues distant. There was neither church nor house for the priest at Pitiquí. Fr. Juan Diaz, 1768-1773, was the first Franciscan missionary.

Santos Angeles de Gueravi with the three visitas San José de Tumacacori, San Cayetano de Calabazas, and San Ignacio de Sonoitac. Fr. Juan Gil de Bernave was appointed to these missions in 1768. There was no church at Calabazas, and the others are described as poor. Tumacacori was one league from the presidio of Tubac, and it had adobe houses for the



PIMA INDIANS AND CHAPEL AT GILA CROSSING.

Indians and some walls for defense.

San Xavier del Bac with the visita or rather presidio of San José de Tucson, three leagues north of Bac. Here Fr. Francisco Garcés took up his residence in 1768. (5)

According to a register prepared by order of Visitador General Galvez in 1769, a year after the Franciscans had taken possession, there were in Pimería Baja, with its eight missions and fifteen (6) pueblos, 3,011 Indians and 792 *gente de razon*; while in the eight missions and sixteen (7) pueblos of Pimería Alta there were 2,018 Indians and only 178 *gente de razon*, besides the soldiers and their families, or a total of 6,489 souls, not counting those in the presidios whose spiritual needs were attended, to by the Querétaro Fathers. (8)

“The missions,” says Bancroft following Arricivita, “were found by the Franciscans in a sad state. Some of the establishments had been plundered by the Apaches, and were again plundered, as at Suamea and Bac, during the first year of the Franciscan occupation. In some cases the comisarios had grossly neglected their duties. Everywhere the neophytes had been for a year free from all control, and had not been improved by their freedom. Not only had they relapsed to a great extent into their roving and improvident habits, but they had imbibed new ideas of independence, fostered largely by settlers and soldiers. They regarded themselves as entirely free from all control of the missionaries, whose whole duty in these latter times was to attend to religious matters. The padres might not, so these independent aborigines thought, give orders, but must prefer requests to the native officials; if they required work for them they must pay for it. (9)

(5) Arricivita 396; Bancroft, Hist. Texas, I, 723-724. (6) Arricivita says 7.
(7) Arricivita has 8. (8) Arricivita, 402; Banc. Hist. Texas, 723-724.
(9) Banc. Hist. Texas, I, 706-707.

“The friars at first had nothing to do with the temporalities, but, after examining the situation in the provinces, Galvez in 1769 ordered the property returned to the control of the missionaries, and the slight remnants were thus restored. Some of the Fathers thought this was incompatible with the apostolic ministry, and therefore made humble representations against the transfer, giving as an excuse their natural inability for such a charge. Galvez, however, thought their objections additional reasons why they should accept the control of the temporalities for the benefit of the natives, as may be seen from the following decree:

“In order that I can with due knowledge and all possible promptness take the measures which I desire for the benefit of the natives of the missions, who are in charge and under the administration of the very reverend missionaries of the College of the Propaganda Fide of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, I command all and each one of the comisarios reales, to whose care the temporal administration of the missions mentioned has been committed, that they immediately by inventories deliver all the effects, property, flocks, and the management to the Reverend Fathers without delay, etc.”

“The administration of the temporalities,” Arricivita continues, “was not prohibited as some over-scrupulous Fathers contended; it was a charitable charge, and a fortunate though burdensome means to establish and maintain the missions, with which they attracted and held together numerous souls from paganism; and, as the Indians in the Pimerías were not of a different character from those of the coast, nor of a more industrious and economical nature, it was necessary to look after both their spiritual and temporal affairs. For these reasons the Fr. President in a letter to the visitador general accepted the trust, and submitted to the double work of teaching them

Christianity by making them settle down first to till the soil, instead of seeking their livelihood in the mountains, and to provide for the sick and infirm, orphans and old people; for the Indians were so heartless as to leave the dying, even the little children, alone and unattended, and when dead to leave them unburied.” (10)

After the Fathers had explained to the secular authorities that the missionaries would have to depend upon themselves for their maintenance, and that it would be disastrous for their work to force the Indians in their present state of mind to support the religious, “they received a stipend of \$300 each from the royal treasury, and spent what they did not need for themselves on their churches and neophytes. They worked faithfully, though often discouraged, and presently the state of affairs became, in all essential respects, similar to that of Chihuahua, the padres keeping together the skeleton communities, instructing the children, caring for the sick, and by gifts and persuasion exercising slight and varying control over the masses of Indians who were *Christians only in name.*” (11)

“Officers intrusted with the expulsion of the Jesuits, in order to reconcile the Indians to the change and prevent disturbances, had taken pains to make them regard the measure as a release from bondage. This had much to do with the independent spirit that proved so troublesome to the new missionaries, though the systems followed by the two Orders did not differ in any important respect.

“By no means all existing troubles, however, arose from the natives’ new-born independence of missionary control. Each establishment had a large number of native officials who quarreled among themselves; and the few settlers of Spanish or mixed blood had their separate *Jueces Reales*, who were not slow to

(10) Arricivita, 409-412.

(11) Arricivita 401; Bancroft Hist. Texas, I. 707.

interfere in matters that did not concern them. There was likewise confusion in ecclesiastical affairs; for the friars were forbidden to exercise control over other than Indians." (12)

The Pimerías were largely inhabited by the Pima and Seri Indians, tribes very much addicted to witchcraft and other heathen practices, which were among the worst obstacles to the spread of Christianity. Many of the natives had indeed been baptized, and seemed to be converted, but secretly they continued their superstitious practices, (trato del demonio). Moreover, they were so vindictive that they would fight a duel for the slightest offense. Nor were even the missionaries safe from the fury of their ungrateful wards; for, had the Indians not feared detection and punishment, the lives of the Fathers, while out on their mission tours, would often have been in imminent danger. In a few of the pueblos some of the natives that understood Spanish would come to the religious instructions, but the vast majority remained wholly indifferent, particularly so during the early years when the missionaries could not converse with them in the native language, and the Indians could not understand the Fathers. This was a source of much grief to the poor religious. (13)

(12) Arriçivita, 409-413; Banc. Hist. Texas, I, 706-708; 723-24; Banc. Hist. Ariz., 375-376.

(13) "Aunque se ven muchos que parecen convertidos á la Fé Católica y como tales bautizados, pero intimamente están infectos con el trato del demonio, y contagiados de padres á hijos, de amigos y vecinos, sin tener en sus corazones ni el mas leve sentimiento de Cristianos, ni la instruccion de los misterios que les es necesaria para salvarse."

"En pocos pueblos se encuentran algunos que sepan hablar en Castilla, y en ninguno, uno siquiera, sepa en ella la Doctrina Christiana, por lo que nos hallamos sin intérprete, para poder en casos urgentes ministrar los Santos Sacramentos.

"Y que el libertinage en que vagueban era mas de paganos, que de Católicos, y totalmente impedia su catequismo, del que no tenian la instruccion debida, para administrarles los Sacramentos en caso necesario, no obstante que todos estaban ya bautizados...."Pues nos ha parecido á todos los ministros, despues de muchas reflexiones y exámenes de los mas advertidos, cultivados y morigerados, no tienen otra cosa de Christ'anos, que el indelebl' caracter del Santo Bautismo. Arriçivita, 397-399; 401-403.

Nor did it lighten the work of the Fathers that a royal decree was issued which directed that the Christian doctrine should be taught in the Spanish language. This added considerably to the difficulties under which the Religious labored, and gave the indolent savages additional excuses to rove about the mountains rather than listen to their spiritual guides. However in this matter the missionaries used their good sense; they instructed the savages in the vernacular as soon as they had acquired sufficient knowledge to make themselves understood. (14)

Disheartening as the difficulties and hardships of the Fathers were, the want of a sufficient number of missionaries weighed far more heavily upon the devoted men. Their missions were far apart, and so numerous that one priest alone could effect but little in the manner he was obliged to visit his people. All he could do was to say Mass and administer the Sacraments to the dying. Then he would be forced to hasten to the next station, though with a bleeding heart, because he saw the necessity of remaining longer to instruct old and young in the very rudiments of what it was so necessary for them to know, in order that they might profit by the presence of the missionary who could come around but rarely. For want of these religious instructions the poor Indians remained in their superstitions and died in their errors.

This unhappy state of affairs was repeatedly, brought to the knowledge of Discretory at the college of Querétaro and also to the notice of the secular authorities who had to provide the missionaries with the means to reach the missions and maintain themselves among the natives; but unfortunately the welfare of the missions was often sacrificed to politics.

(14) Quiere nuestro rey y señor que los párrocos y misioneros se dediquen con particular esmero y aplicacion a que los Indios aprendan y hablen el Castellano, segun esta prevenido en las leyes, y tan justamente recomendado a los ministros eclesiasticos." Arricivita, 403. See "Franciscans in California," 126-127; 146, 148.

At the close of a petition directed to Don Galvez the Fathers declare: "We are convinced, and from experience we know, that it is morally impossible to educate the Indians sufficiently, as it is right and necessary to do in order to bring about their salvation, if the pueblos remain as they are, having only one missionary, and in his charge the stations which he must attend as now, where the Indians are allowed unlimited freedom in their errors, barbarities, and vile habits." (15)

Notwithstanding these most unfavorable conditions, the Fathers did not sit down to lament and dream about what ought to be done, but at once set themselves to work to make the most of the circumstances, often risking their lives to win the Indians back to a sense of their duties, as may be gathered from the following incident.

The Seri Indians, an indomitable tribe occupying the western part of Sonora, were in open rebellion at this time. Though they had been among the first to receive missionaries, and many were baptized, their barbarous character frustrated all efforts to subdue them. With a view to establish peace among them and to punish the guilty ones, Don José Galvez was sent to their country by the viceroy in 1768; but having to perform similar duties in Lower California, the visitador general did not reach Sonora until the following year. Meanwhile he wrote to Fr. President Mariano Buena, "and directed him to make known to the Indians that he wished to have them submit peaceably; that all that would give up their rebellious ways should be pardoned, but that the obstinate should be punished."

(15) Arricivita. "Cronica Serafica," 398-399; 400-402. Estamos persuadidos y ya por experiencia conoce nos, ser moralmente imposible educarlos suficientemente.....permaneciendo los pueblos como hoy están, y estando solo un ministro, y á su cargo las visitas que hasta ahora han tenido, en las que están viviendo los Indios á su total libertad, y en el uso libre de sus errores, barbariedades y pésimas inclinaciones."

The Fr. President gladly accepted this commission of peace. Leaving his mission of Ures, he went from station to station to persuade the rebels to submit, but met with so little success that he reached Tecoripa completely discouraged. Fr. Juan Sarobe, then at Tecoripa, now offered to continue his superior's efforts among the rebels, whilst Fr. Buena went to Mission Onabas in the province of Ostimuri. Fr. Sarobe just came in time to prevent an attack upon the Indians, which had been arranged by the comandante of Pitic. In the name of the visitador general he announced a suspension of hostilities during forty days, in order to give the Indians time to consider the terms of peace.

At the same time he started out for the Indian country, in spite of the objections of the commandant and friendly Indians, who declared such an attempt to be a most hazardous undertaking. They informed him that a priest had been killed two months before, and that the savages would not respect the priestly character in any one else; but the intrepid Fr. Sarobe replied that he would nevertheless go and see if he could not liberate those souls from hell whither they were going, as they were worse for being apostates who had committed sacrilegious murders and robberies; and that, after all, if they killed him, he should be dying for his God. (16)

Animated by this noble spirit, without any other baggage than his breviary, a crucifix, and a picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, without more provisions than a little ground corn (pinole) and some jerked beef, and with but two Indians from Tecoripa and two from Suaqui as guides or interpreters, he started out towards the southeast on May 13th, 1769. No one ever expected him to return. Travelling on foot he reached a rugged place in the mountains on

(16) Who the murdered priest was Arricivita does not say.

in the morning of the 15th. Here he staid with one Indian to say his office, and sent the other three to examine the neighboring country. Soon a number of savages appeared. Fortunately Ignacio Tuaspa, who had fled from the missions a year before, a brother-in-law of one of the messengers, was among the rebels. After a few words had been exchanged, one of the savages suddenly grasped the crucifix which Fr. Sarobe wore on his breast, and exclaimed: "Here you shall die, liar." The Father at once recomended himself to God, and asked forgiveness for his assailant; but, in the confusion that ensued, Ignacio Tuaspa seized the missionary, and fled with him to the woods where he succeeded in eluding the savages. After four days, during which time the two fugitives had eaten nothing and tasted water but once, Fr. Sarobe again appeared at Tecoripa, where he was welcomed by Fr. José Caxa who had been sent there by the Fr. President. Having rested for two days, Fr. Sarobe went to Onabas where the Fr. President received him cordially. Though this attempt to make the rebels submit was unsuccessful in the main, ten women left the rebels and returned to the missions. (17)

The authorities now decided to chastise the murderous savages. In 1769, therefore, the troops marched out accompanied by Fr. Garcés, who thus had an opportunity to satisfy his curiosity regarding new countries and their inhabitants, ever on the alert to find suitable sites for establishing new missions. He reduced his observations among the natives, including a trip to the Gila, to writing, and turned the manuscript over to the Fr. President, Fr. Mariano Buena, who later on handed the papers to Don Galvez.

But the troubles experienced by the devoted Religious were as nothing compared to the grief and scru-

(17) Arricivita, 405-409.

ples they suffered at finding themselves compelled to work alone at their respective missions. Again and again this complaint recurs in the reports and letters of the Fathers at this period; and on one occasion, especially, the Fr. President, in the name of all, directed the attention of the visitador general to this matter in the most urgent manner.

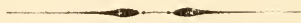
“It is evident, my Lord,” he wrote, among other things, “that the Indian neophytes who are not under the watchful eyes of the missionaries do not attend the instructions, forget them as quickly as they learn them, and despise all Christian manners, and live in constant idleness, planning only damage to their neighbor, because they have not and do not desire any other means to maintain themselves than to live by theft, without work, and to be free at all times to give themselves up to their vile passions, superstitious customs, and disgraceful dances, without it being possible for the most zealous missionary to remedy such disastrous evils. Hence it is a torture to the conscience of the Fathers to be called suddenly to administer the sacraments to any of those unfortunate creatures; for even if there be time to examine them concerning the points of faith which it is necessary to know, the fever, or pain, or their natural indolence cause them to pay no attention, and thus they die in their ignorance. The danger is almost inevitable on account of the distance, which is often as far as fifteen leagues from the mission to the visitas; for, as carelessness is natural with the natives, and especially in matters of religion, it is necessary for the Lord to work a miracle in order that each one that falls sick may die fit to receive the Holy Sacraments; for he that brings the information has to travel many leagues, and the missionary many more, particularly if he dwells at another settlement, and he always goes exposed to perils from the enemies, as he has no stronger escort

than two or three Indians, who usually take to flight on the first appearance of danger.” (18)

The conditions complained of show that the Indians of those times were in nearly every particular the same as now. The same indifference and inattention to spiritual matters, the same longing for a life without work or steady exertion or worry for any purpose, and the same desire for nothing but eat and drink, and plenty of it, characterized the Indians then as now.

Nevertheless, the question of giving each missionary a companion, so much desired by the Fathers, seems to have again been dropped; at all events no assistants arrived, for the reason that the salary allowed each missionary would not reach to maintain two Fathers in each of the missions in that poor region. When the visitator general himself came to the missionary district, and convinced himself that the reports of the Fathers regarding the needs of the missions were truthful, one mission at least profited by the visit; for when, on going from Tecoripa to San José, its visita, he found the distance to be fifteen leagues, Galvez immediately directed that a missionary be stationed at the latter place, and so informed the viceroy, who in turn notified the Fr. Guardian that he might now attend to the matter. Until such an order arrived from the secular authorities, the college could not send additional missionaries if they did not wish to expose them to the chicanery of petty officials at the missions. (19)

(18) See "Franciscans in California," 110-111. (19) Arricivita, 413-414.



CHAPTER IV.

GALVEZ AND BUENA VISIT THE REBEL SERI—ILLNESS OF DON GALVEZ—FR. GARCÉS AT SAN XAVIER—HIS FIRST TRIP TO THE GILA—ILLNESS OF FR. GARCÉS—GUEVAVI DESTROYED—EPIDEMIC—SECOND MISSIONARY TOUR OF FR. GARCÉS—INDIAN GODS—GARCÉS PROPOSES MISSIONS ON THE GILA—FR. BUENA RESIGNS—NEW MISSIONARIES—THE YUMAS—THIRD TRIP OF FR. GARCÉS.

On reaching Ures, from Pitic in the Seris country, where Fr. President Buena resided, Don Galvez communicated to him the intention of founding a mission among the Seri if they would only be pacified. The Fr. President gladly agreed to this plan, and offered to accompany the visitador; but when the rebels remained obstinate, he returned to Ures with Fr. Buena. There he received the interesting reports of Fr. Garcés who urged the establishing of missions among the Indians along the Gila and the Colorado. Galvez resolved to visit those regions, but his failing health compelled him to remain at Ures under the care of Fr. Buena, from October 1769 until May 1770. He then left Sonora in company of the Fr. President, and went to Chihuahua. For having nursed the visitador Fr. Buena received a letter of thanks from the viceroy dated early in 1770.

In May of the same year the Seri Indians finally submitted, with exception of a small band of eleven men captained by a mulatto, who continued a source of much annoyance for a time.

A promising field was opened to the Fathers in the country around Mission San Xavier del Bac, and

in Fr. Francisco Garcés, who was placed there in June 1768, the mission found a man equal to the situation. Soon after reaching the post assigned to him, he put himself in communication with the rancherías of the pagan Indians, and gave them to understand that he desired to become acquainted with the people in their own country solely for the purpose of speaking to them regarding their Creator. At this declaration they expressed much satisfaction, but also intimated that they wished him to come alone, and that they would send some Indians to guide him.

A military officer became aware of the missionary's plan, and endeavored to frustrate it by asserting that an uprising of the Pápagos was feared. Fr. Garcés nevertheless started out from San Xavier on August 29th, 1768, accompanied only by one Indian and the four guides sent to meet and protect him. He travelled southeast through the country of the Pápagos about eighty leagues west, then north, and then as far as the Gila. On arriving at a ranchería Fr. Garcés always preached to the Indians through an interpreter about the mysteries of religion. They readily listened to his instructions, but shrewdly inquired of him the real reason for entering their country, how and why he had crossed the great sea, what he expected to gain among them, or whether he had come merely out of curiosity to see their territory. They then assured him that they were on friendly terms with the Spaniards, and that they did not object to have missions established among their people. While the missionary replied to their numerous questions, they greatly wondered at his appearance, closely examined his sandals, habit, and cord, and finally begged him to baptize their children. When he explained that this could not be done as yet, owing to the uncertainty of a mission among them, the poor Indians expressed deep regret.



PAPAGO INDIAN DWELLINGS.

Fr. Garcés was very well pleased with the result of his first visit, and he later on confessed that of all the Indians he met anywhere those of the Gila River occupied the first place in his affections. He baptized only four children who were at the point of death among them. As he had left his mission without a priest, he was forced to hasten back, but the Indians gave him a guard from one ranchería to another. The news of the arrival of a new missionary in the Indian territory soon spread in all directions. Full of joy and zeal at having discovered such a rich field, he reached his mission, but at once suffered a fit of apoplexy which rendered him unconscious for twenty four hours, at the end of which he was seized with a chill from which he suffered for a long time. Fortunately the Father stationed at Guevavi arrived to visit his fellow missionary, and induced him to rest from work, because the life of Fr. Garcés was in imminent danger. While at San Xavier, his own mission Guevavi was sacked and destroyed by the ferocious Apaches, who killed all the soldiers but two whom they carried along in order to torture them as only demons can inspire. (1)

During the month of October 1770 the whole province suffered from an epidemic of measles, accompanied with malignant fever and diarrhea. Many of the natives died. On one occasion, when a married woman had fled from San Xavier del Bac, the Pimas of the Rio Gila informed Fr. Garcés that she had arrived among them, and they most earnestly begged him to come and assist them in their afflictions. As there were no cases of serious sickness at his own mission just then, Fr. Garcés set out on the 18th of October on his second missionary tour, 'equipped only with charity and apostolic zeal,' intending to remain away but five days. Going northwest of his mission

(1) Arricivita, 403-404.

through the Pápago country, he traversed a new valley and passed the rancherías of Cuitoat, Oapars, and Tubasa, from which places there were Indians at his mission. On the 19th he turned towards the west and came to the ranchería of Aquitun, and on the same day discovered a very old Indian woman who was at the point of death. After instructing her as well as possible, the missionary baptized her. She died immediately after. On the 20th Fr. Garcés reached the Gila, where the Indians of the ranchería of Pitac received him with much pleasure. There he baptized the children that were in imminent danger of death. On the 21st the apostolic traveller reached a village which he had seen on his trip two years before. It was necessary to baptize 22 children, after which he experienced some difficulty of getting away, as the Indians wanted to detain him by force in order to hear him speak on the mysteries of religion. He crossed the river, and on the 22d said Mass at a large ranchería called Napeut, where he also baptized two persons seriously sick. The Indians informed him that the Opas, a tribe that spoke the language of the Yuma and Cocomarcopa Indians, inhabited a territory adjoining their own.

Accordingly, Fr. Garcés, accompanied by a Gila Indian who carried a little pinole and jerked beef, set out for their country. Passing by the village of Sutaquison, down the river, on the 23d he reached a salina, and proceeding northwest at night time came upon the Opas. As the Father was already somewhat versed in the Pima tongue, he gave the Indians an instruction in that language, which was understood by a number of the older men and the Pimas that happened to be present. These Indians had never seen a missionary, nor even any white men, and were therefore full of wonder particularly at his singular garb. They asked him whether he was a man or a woman, whether he was married, and similar impertinent



FR. GARCÉS AMONG THE TULES OF ARIZONA.

things indicative of their rudeness, (“y otras impertinencias iguales a su rudeza”). On account of Mission San Xavier, which he had left without a priest, Fr. Garcés did not proceed farther, but turning south arrived at a ranchería where he was told that white men from Moqui had visited one of the Indian villages. On the 28th he travelled past several rancherías and cultivated fields, and in the house of a Pima from Sutaquison he met six Indians from the Colorado.

Having baptized a child that was in a dying condition, the missionary turned towards the east, and, after wandering three days, during which he was told that the greater part of the children and also the woman he had baptized on his way out were dead, he at last again reached San Xavier del Bac. Fr. Garcés concluded that he must have travelled about ninety leagues since leaving his mission on the eighteenth of October.

In his diary of this trip the Father says “the Indians were everywhere agreeably surprised to find that the missionary travelled alone, and that he sought nothing but their souls, in order to preach to them about heaven and hell, and explain who God is, of which truths they were wholly ignorant; for although they had some notion of a supreme power, and some claimed they invoked it when they planted their corn and when they were sick, Fr. Garcés discovered, after investigating the matter thoroughly, that what they looked upon as gods was with some Indians the sun, and with others only the moon; and this was the case even among those tribes that dwelt in the neighborhood of the missions.”

The immediate result of Fr. Garcés' travels was that a large number of Pápago Indians came to join the mission; but when they found that many of the mission Indians died, and that others suffered severely from chills and fevers, they ceased to show them-

selves. The good Father then proposed the founding of missions on the River Gila, whither the Indians would be less unwilling to go. For the information of the Fr. Guardian and the college discretory Fr. Garcés wrote a long diary about this whole missionary tour. Fr. President Mariano considered its contents so important that he deprived himself of his own assistant, Fr. Joseph del Rio, and ordered him to take the manuscript to Querétaro. The college, energetically seconded by Don Galvez, at once urged the matter before the court of Mexico. The royal court at Madrid, however, had to give the final order for establishing new missions; and as the royal fiscal was opposed to such expenditures at that time, nothing came of the plan so dear to the heart of the missionary at San Xavier del Bac. Fr. Joseph del Rio had meanwhile been sent back to Sonora together with five new religious, who were to hold themselves ready to proceed north as soon as the king should decree the founding of missions on the Gila River: so confident were all that the petition would be granted. Before these missionaries arrived in the Pimerías, information reached the Fathers that no new missions were to be established at that time; still they felt so certain of an ultimate favorable decree that Fr. President Mariano allowed Fr. Garcés to make another trip of exploration to the region north, with a view of obtaining further information about the Indians and suitable mission sites.

Fr. Garcés deemed it advisable to travel without military escort, as he was accustomed to do, notwithstanding the objections of the soldiers who prophesied all manner of dangers from the Indians, from hunger, and thirst, and other hardships, especially from the Yumas whose language he did not speak. The experienced missionary, however, knew better than to excite the suspicions of the natives, not to speak of the necessities of the soldiery on the route

for whose wants he would have to provide. For the rest he relied upon Divine Providence; this left him unhampered. As to the Yumas, Fr. Garcés declared they were docile, and besides badly equipped with weapons, many not even having bows, or if so, they were in a bad condition, and with only two or three arrows. In his travels, Fr. Francisco invariably found them very affectionate and hospitable, for they provided him with everything in the way of food, so that it was easier to pass through their country than through the territory of other tribes along the river farther north. "Only one awkward thing," says he, "happened to me among them. In all places, and not only once, they offered me women etc; but I, fixing my eyes on the crucifix which I wore on my breast, and raising it up towards heaven, gave them to understand that in that particular I did not live as they did. On this account they showed me much affection, and obtained a higher idea about a matter which to them appeared strange." (2)

As it was not possible to obtain an interpreter who could speak the various dialects along the road he intended to travel, Fr. Garcés had to be contented with the company of a Pápago Indian and a horse which carried the things necessary for celebrating Holy Mass. Leaving San Xavier del Bac on the 8th of August, 1771, he travelled towards the west, and visited many rancherías in which he preached, said Mass, and baptized those that were in grave danger of death. Thus on the 11th he found in one of the rancherías a very old woman who appeared to have

(2) "Solo una cosa ridicula me sucedio entre ellos, a mas de los bayles que son al compás muy violento, que hacen con un guage con piedrecillas, y canto muy ayroso, que en todas partes, y no una vez, me ponian mugeres delante, con señas de que fuese con ellas, y hubo veces que ellas mismas me preguntaban con acciones muy feas, si yo no comerciaba con las mugeres como sus hombres. Y poniendo yo la vista en el Santo Christo que llevaba al pecho, y levantandolo al cielo, les significaba que en ese particular no vivia yo como ellos, de lo que resultaba hacerme mas cariño, y mas concepto de una cosa que para ellos era muy particular." Arrievita, 418-419.

passed the age of one hundred years. He instructed and then baptized her. The Father was much gratified on the next day for being able to baptize two sick adults and some children at the pueblo of Atí.

On the 15th our traveller saw the pueblo of Cubac where he was received by a vast multitude of people who entertained him hospitably. On the following day after Mass, at which all these Indians and many Pimas assisted, Fr. Garcés preached through an interpreter. Among other things he tried to persuade them to live in peace with other Indian tribes, and to cause no injury to any one; but the interpreter, who supposed the missionary would not notice the perversion, to please his people, said the Cocomaricopas were a bad set, with whom they might carry on war, but that the Yumas had a good heart; with them it was right to trade. The Father, however, did notice the trick. In relating the story he writes: "I dared not show any anger, and at the same time I could scarcely refrain from laughing, when I found I had to speak for myself, though with difficulty only by means of signs and figures. I became convinced, however, that as long as the Indians do not understand each other, nor understand the missionary, he is as good as sold, and exposed to thousand deceptions."

On the 16th Fr. Garcés spoke with the chief of Sonoí (Sonoita?), and announced his intention of going to the Yumas. After giving his usual catechetical instructions in the evening, he asked for two guides, but it was difficult to obtain them. He, nevertheless, persisted in his determination. Starting out the next morning he reached a ranchería beyond which the guides refused to go, claiming that no water was to be found. The Father was determined, however, and they reluctantly followed him westward until they reached what had once been a calabazas field, but then abandoned for want of water. In this distress

the party continued their course along the sierra, or volcano of Santa Clara, and wide sand plains until they arrived at the Rio Gila on the 22d. A branch river was soon discovered which Fr. Garcés supposed to be the Rio Azul. He travelled all day when, just before sunset, he and his companions were seen by some Noragua Indians who lived on the other bank of the river. They treated him kindly and invited him to their village for the night; but the Pima guides were anxious to reach their own people, and therefore told the Father that these Indians were not good, and that they would steal what they could if he remained with them.

On the 23d many from the other side of the river came over to see the Father, as did also a number from below the river, and with them the chief of the Pimas who brought the wearied traveller a dish of corn. The chief offered to accompany him until he returned; but when the Indian heard that the missionary intended to go to the Colorado River, he and his followers declined to guide him, and moreover did all they could to dissuade the Father from taking that course as the distance was too great. The reason was, however, they were not at peace with the Quiquimas who infested the roads. Dances and songs continued throughout the night until daybreak. This was done to divert the Father from his purpose. After waiting two days Fr. Garcés attempted to find the Colorado alone, because the guides refused to accompany him. Proceeding westward until it was too dark to travel, he reached a hut in which he passed the night. Some young men next day put the missionary on the road toward the Yuma country, but would not venture to proceed farther. After wandering about all day, hunger, thirst, mosquitoes, and the loss of his cloak compelled the weary traveller and his horse to return to the last ranchería. The Indians were delighted to see him come back, and they again

tried to persuade him not to look for the Yumas; but the Father was inflexible. He now marched for two days in a northwesterly direction, but on the 30th his faithful animal twice sank so deep into the mire that he gave it up for lost. His helpless misery once more made him take refuge at the ranchería.

Indescribable was the joy with which the Indian friends welcomed the Father. They resolved that he should not again be allowed to proceed west, because the Yumas were their enemies; but Fr. Garcés could not be shaken in his resolution, so after many warm disputes they at last gave him another guide. After baptizing an adult and a child that were in a dying condition, he set out on September eighth, this time provided with some victuals. The Indian purposely broke the water-jug after a while, and then declared he could not go farther without it. Though Fr. Garcés replied it was not needed, as they were travelling along the river, the guide, about noon, took one of the horses and rode back. The intrepid missionary now went on alone for two days, when he discovered the footsteps of some boys that led to an Indian camp, which was as usual hidden away in the jungles among the lagoons of the river. Great was the amazement of the savages at seeing the Father alone, and equally demonstrative was the respect they showed him while he was with them. Leaving these people, the tireless wanderer passed from ranch to ranch as far as the river. On the 12th he came to some ranches whose inhabitants had lately suffered a cruel attack from their enemies, the Quiquimas, in consequence of which many of their warriors were wounded, and many huts destroyed. The Father fearlessly proceeded on his way until night overtook him, when he slept near the river. On the next day he discovered a trail, and on the other bank some smoke arising. As he could not cross the stream, Fr. Garcés followed its course downward to

the west, almost to its junction with the Colorado, which the lagoons and tules prevented him from reaching at that time. Finding further attempts in that direction useless, he turned to the south.

On the 14th Fr. Francisco passed a beautiful plain and came to some pools of very salty water. Not being able to penetrate to the river on account of the lagunas, he turned somewhat towards the east to look for fresh water; but he found only the skeletons of Indians and the signs of war. Convinced at last that there was neither water, nor grass, nor seeds to be found in that region, he went north after traveling the greater part of the night. Towards dawn he tried to rest awhile, and therefore allowed his horse to graze at will. When he awoke the animal was gone. After some doubt as to what direction to take, he decided to proceed west, and thus came out at a river which seemed smaller than the Colorado, and larger than the Gila. Of course it must have been one or the other. He was at a loss what to do, as nothing eatable could be found along the shore, for it only produced a weed that looked very much like hemp. In this extremity the weary traveller concluded to turn back. With no hope of recovering the horse, he wandered among the tule jungles and lagunas all day of the 15th until nightfall, when he was made happy by the appearance of the faithful animal which had followed his tracks through the labyrinth of tulares and marshes.

On the 16th Fr. Garcés thought he could reach the mouth of the river and find the Quiquimas by going directly south. He accordingly took that course, and after marching two leagues came to a melon patch. While refreshing himself, fourteen armed Indians appeared who were amazed at seeing the strange man. By means of signs they inquired whence he came and whither he was going. They gave him to understand that the Quiquimas were their enemies, and

that if he would go along they would give him to eat, and at once offered him some fish. Soon after he came with them to a party of thirty Yuma Indians who were fishing. He eat with them, 'and,' he says, 'among those savages one could learn what humanity, politeness, and attention is, from the pleasure with which they led me to their settlement, and from the work and pains they took to prepare two commodious rafts to pass me over the stream.' As soon as the village was reached they gave expression to their esteem for him by dances, songs, and visits, in consequence of which he could not sleep; for they did not cease until near daybreak.

On the 17th Fr. Garcés proceeded on his way to the mouth of the river, but could persuade only one old Indian to accompany him. In one ranchería he found a very sick child which he baptized. When the Indians saw this, they at once produced another that the Father might perform the same ceremony over it. The old Indian soon refused to follow the missionary onward; so that he had to continue alone. On the next day he found himself so entirely lost amid tulares, mud holes, and lagunas that he feared he should not be able to extricate himself. Nor could his horse overcome the difficulties. In this affliction poor Fr. Garcés passed the night; and when on the following day he discovered even greater obstacles he made his way back to the Yuma camps, where he was received with shouts of joy. Some Indians promised to guide him after a few days; but as usual they were unreliable. Finding himself on the other (3) bank of the river, the explorer thought it rather hard to return without seeing all that could be of interest, and therefore moved onward with some Indians who

(3) It is impossible, from the narrative as given by Arricivita, to trace Fr. Garcés' route, or to state at what river, or on what side of the river the traveller appeared on the various dates; nor is it possible here to determine whether or not Fr. Garcés crossed the Colorado River.

happened to be in camp from some ranchería farther west; in their company he passed a laguna on the 20th. He also passed many ranches and after sunset entered one of them for the night. A great crowd had assembled, when he gave his usual instructions on God and the Divine mysteries.

On the whole of the 21st he travelled west, always through well-peopled ranches, to a laguna many leagues in length. As he insisted on crossing it, the Indians made balsas or rafts for that purpose. When he came upon another large body of water, he wished to cross in the same manner, but the savages, declaring that the water was too deep and swift, refused to assist him. Fr. Garcés thought the stream was the Colorado. An Indian presented the hungry wanderer with a goose, but as there was no means of preparing the flesh for want fuel to start a fire, he returned to the ranchería where he received food in abundance. Then, following the current of the large laguna on the 22d, he came upon many rancherías, where he was agreeably surprised to hear the sweet names of Jesus and Mary pronounced by the natives. Some uttered the names correctly, others with much reverence would say Mensus and Marria, whilst nearly all added *Azan* to Jesus, which word in their language signified something celestial.

In the afternoon the Father travelled two leagues and a half through an uninhabited region, and then through a well-settled district. Indians from the other side of the river came to see him there. By about five o'clock he reached a number of very poor ranches. On the 23d the guides refused to go farther west for fear of their enemies, so the Father started out alone. When they saw him so inflexible, they at last put him on the right road; but nothing could induce them to go along. Moving from north to west, he discovered a dry lagoon; and, while passing a thick growth of mezquit along a sierra, he also found a

pool of fresh water; and proceeding thence through land that contained much alkali he came to a dry stream (arroyo), where he passed the night. Following the bent of his mind on the 24th he travelled between east and north; and though he saw much smoke, he could not make the horse go on for fear of sinking into some of the salty lagunas. Discovering more smoke in the east, he turned in that direction where he found some Indians who welcomed him with much joy, and as usual honored him with dances and other marks of esteem. He had the consolation, also, of baptizing a very sick child. On the following day the Indians insisted that he give up the plan of going to the west; but he remained immovable. After passing a large pueblo, he came to the previous arroyo, where the Indians left him on the 26th for fear of those beyond.

Fr. Garcés then travelled alone all day through a sandy desert, meeting with none but salty water anywhere. He hoped to reach the Colorado, and therefore continued on his way even after nightfall; but when instead of the river he only found a sierra, hunger and thirst forced him to take refuge with the friendly people of the village at which he had stopped last. When the Indians found the exhausted Father at the well outside the ranchería, they offered him what food they had. On this occasion he obtained some news from them concerning the missionaries in California and New Mexico. At the same time a very sick child was brought which he baptized; a number of other children were also offered for the same purpose, but upon these the same blessing could not be bestowed, because they were in sound health.

Fr. Garcés suffered somewhat from cold weather after marching northwest all day of the 28th and succeeding night, and resting only an hour and a half; but on the morning of the 29th he saw the Sierra

Madre, and what appeared to be the opening or pass through which the Colorado entered the sea. He travelled about two leagues towards the east in quest of fresh water, but was disappointed and compelled to return once more to the well, reaching it on the morning of the 29th of Sept. There he was told that some Pimas were waiting for him, and urging his return lest they should be blamed if any misfortune befell him. The Pimas bordering on the Yuma country also advised them to hurry the Father home, for fear of being attacked by the soldiers and Pápagos. The missionary would not hear of this, and, on promising to return to their village, they gave him a guide who was to direct him to a tribe called Macueyues. He set out on the 2d of October, and was soon joined by two other Indians; but after a march of half a day they showed signs of fear, and insisted that he return, to which demand he finally yielded with utmost disgust.

Great numbers of people now flocked together at the settlement from the east and the west, and even from the south, for the purpose of seeing the Father and the things he carried with him, which were little more than his breviary, his crucifix, and the picture of the Blessed Virgin. They gazed at these in wonder, as also at the bridle of the horse, his compass, and other trifles. Fr. Garcés had already mounted his horse on the 3d, but no one was willing to guide him, neither to the west nor to the other side of the river south, in which direction he found it necessary to go. After suffering their interminable disputes for a time, he started out with a few men and went through a very fine country, and then moved towards the north until night which he passed in camp on the road.

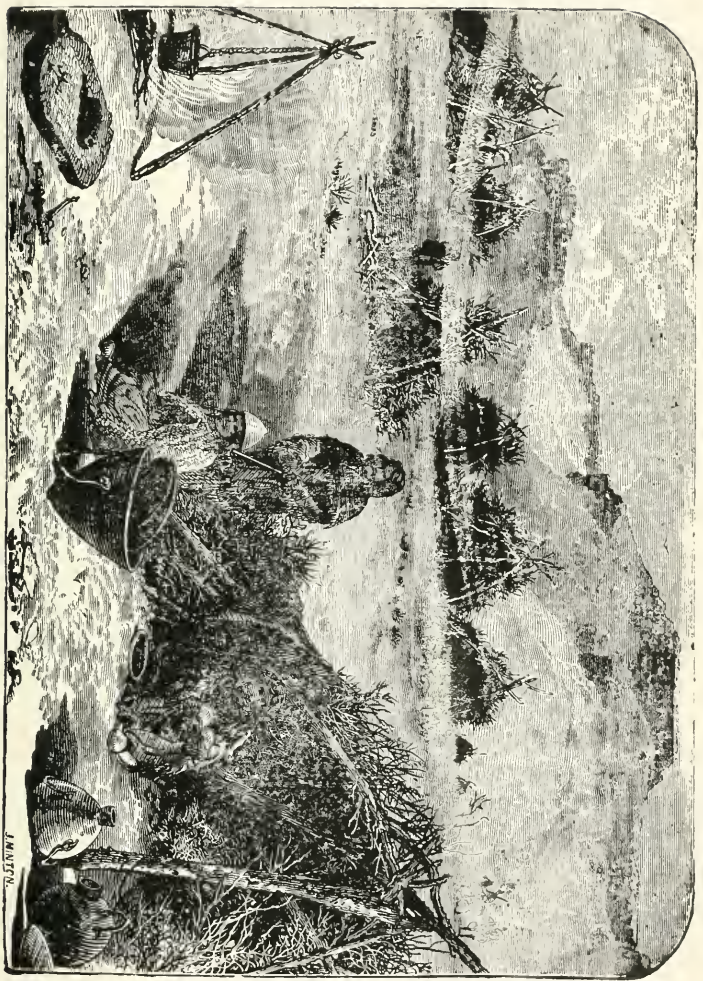
On the 4th of October he was cautiously led through a forest or thicket. in order not to be surprised by hostile Indians, and then deserted for fear

fo them. He proceeded alone northward and happily found a well. On the 6th he made his way through sandy soil which proved very tiresome to his horse; and as he found neither fresh water nor pasture for the poor beast, he turned east to find the Gila, going all day of the 7th. On the 8th he arrived at some ranches and discovered that he was near the Yumas who expected him. After baptizing a little girl that was at the point of death, he determined to proceed up the river. Thus two days later Fr. Garcés came to the spot where the Cocomaricopas, Opas, and Gileños had fought against the Yumas, of whom eleven had been killed. On the 11th he arrived at the camp of the Yumas where the mourning ceremonies were in progress. More than six hundred Indians were participating divided into three groups. About 200 were weeping, 200 were playing, and 200 were moving about. Fr. Garcés entered the place of mourning. He sympathized with them, but through an old Pima Indian censured them severely for always carrying on war with the other tribes. He showed them that it was the plan of the devil that they should destroy one another, but that he would do all in his power to get Fathers to teach them Christianity, that there might be peace among all Indian tribes. The savages quietly listened to the reproof and then continued their wailing, groaning, sobbing, dancing, and chanting. He was now told by the Pimas that soldiers were looking for him, as they had letters from the captain and the Fathers addressed to him.

On the October 12th the Yumas concluded their funeral ceremonies by setting fire to the hut of weeping, (4) which had been constructed of brushwood, and then offered to guide Fr. Garcés to the Indians of Cujant or to the Zuñigas in four days. He chose the former road to Sonoaitac. Turning back he

(4) The Yumas to this day burn the bodies of their dead and everything that belonged to them.

YUMA INDIAN VILLAGE.



on the 13th recrossed the River Gila; but soon a dispute arose between the Pimas and the Yumas as to who should direct the missionary. Fr. Garcés finally settled the matter by declaring that, as he loved both tribes equally well, a few of each band might go along. Thus he was able to start homeward on the 15th, and to reach Caborca by the usual road. In his diary, under date of October 27th, the famous traveller makes the remark that he was ailing when he began his laborious journey, but that at the end he found himself in the best of health. He had been absent from San Xavier two months and 25 days. (5)

CHAPTER VI.

FR. BUENA RESIGNS—HIS DEATH AND BIOGRAPHY—THE MISSIONARIES SLANDERED BY THE GOVERNOR—FR. GIL DE BERNAVE MADE PRESIDENT—FOUNDING OF THE MISSIONS AMONG THE SERI AND THE TIBUBONES—DIFFERENCE OF THE INDIANS—MURDER OF FR. GIL—HIS BURIAL—BIOGRAPHY—THE QUERETARANOS LEAVE TEXAS—FR. ANTONIO REYES'S REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE MISSIONS IN 1772.

While Fr. Francisco Garcés was exploring the regions of the Gila and Colorado rivers, important events occurred in the southern part of the Pimería Alta missions. Fr. Mariano had repeatedly asked to be relieved of the office of president of the missions, on the ground that his bodily infirmities made it impossible for him to visit the missions even on horseback. His request was at last granted in 1771, and he retired to one of the missions, where owing to the hardships he had endured he sank into a premature grave in the following year. (1)

(5) Arricivita, CRONICA SERAFICA, 415-426.

(1) Arricivita, 418. Fr. Mariano de Buena y Alcalde was the first among the missionaries

Before the rebel Seri in the mountains had laid down their arms and submitted to Spanish rule, and while Don Galvez was still at Pitic with Fr. Buena, the latter had offered to be the missionary at the mission which Galvez contemplated founding among those savages. Nothing came of the plan, as we have seen, owing to the stubbornness of the Seri. When later on they had settled down, the governor requested the Fr. President to send a priest among them. Instead of imposing this difficult work upon another, Fr. Buena again declared himself ready to go on condition that a church building and dwelling be erected and furnished with the necessary outfit, and that some arrangements be made for the maintenance of the missionary. The Governor in reply stated that he had no authority to supply these things, and that he

sent to the Pimerias from the College of Querétaro to lay down his life for the conversion of the Indians in that region. He was born in Mexico in March 1717, and in baptism received the name Antonio Joseph. His parents, who belonged to the highest nobility, were Don Antonio de Buena y Alcalde and Dona Nicolasa de Valero y Alfaro. Before he was fourteen years of age he entered the course of philosophy in which he received the degree of bachelor at the university. To the surprise of all the young man renounced all brilliant prospects, and entered the missionary college of Santa Cruz at Querétaro, receiving the habit on April 27th, 1734. In the following year he made his profession and received the name Mariano Jesus de San Joseph, as he desired; and thus he was ever after known by the name Fr. Mariano de Buena y Alcalde.

After finishing his theological studies at the college of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, he was elevated to the priesthood. Desirous of working for the conversion of the Indians, he was sent to the missions on the Rio Grande del Norte, Texas, where Mission San Juan Bautista was assigned him. After laboring there with much zeal for many years, his health broke down, wherefore he returned to the solitude of the college, and in 1751 he was elected vicar, and at the same time was one of the discretos. When his term of office expired, he worked as missionary in the diocese of Michoacán. In 1762 he was appointed prefect apostolic of all the western Indian missions, and confirmed by Pope Benedict XIV. much against his own wishes. In 1767 he was made president of the band of fourteen religious destined for the Pimerias. Though in ill health he set out for that laborious field, and reached Guaimas on the ninth of May. On reaching the missions he labored with restless zeal for the conversion and pacification of the various tribes, especially the treacherous Seri, until his health gave way. In the following year, 1772, on September 15th, he passed to his eternal reward while on the mission at the Real de San Antonio, at the age of 55 years, of which he had passed 38 in religion. He was buried universally lamented at Mission de Ures. Arricivit., 555-559.

should have to require them from Mexico.

When Fr. Juan Chrysostomo Gil de Bernave was appointed president of the missions in Pimería Alta, he inherited the task of founding a mission without any means whatever. Like his predecessor, however, Fr. Gil devoted himself with zeal and energy to the welfare of the former rebels at Pitic, and endeavored to satisfy the governor as well as the Indians who were constantly clamoring for missionaries. As no provisions had been made by the authorities at Mexico, he collected some wax and wine from a few kindhearted benefactors, in order to be able to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice, which was the only consolation the missionaries enjoyed in their afflictions. Other private parties furnished some assistance for the support of the Fathers, and then Fr. Gil and Fr. Matías Gallo started out for the rancherías of the Seri. They found neither shelter nor anything else on their arrival; but trusting to Divine Providence they formally took possession of their mission on November 17th, 1772. It so happened that the viceroy on the same day notified the Fr. Guardian of Querétaro that a *sinod* or salary had been granted to the missionary of that mission, and he moreover directed the college to make out a list of the sacred vessels, vestments, and other things required at the new mission.

A considerable number of Seri Indians now withdrew to the island of Tiburon. Pretending to be most anxious to receive Christian instruction, they came to the presidio of Horcasitas, and begged the governor not to compel them to leave the island, but to send a missionary to instruct and baptize them at their camps. The Indians knew very well that for want of water and tillable soil the land was not inhabitable, but to conceal their plans they asked that they be allowed to erect a pueblo° on the coast. Though the scarcity of timber, water, and arable soil

rendered the coast no more suitable than the interior for a mission, the governor decided that the Indians should form a settlement there, and urged the Fr. President to send them a missionary. Fr. Gil saw that the mission could not be made self-supporting; that the king would forever have to furnish subsistence; and that the Indians, under pretext of looking for food, would merely rove about to the neglect of religious instructions. He therefore remonstrated with the governor, and remarked that, if those Indians were really so desirous of Baptism, they could join their tribe near Pitíc where a missionary resided. Instead of considering the objections of the experienced missionary, the governor reported to the viceroy that the Fathers refused to found a mission among the Seri, which was a palpable slander; for, long before the Seris abandoned their haunts between Guaimas and Hermosillo, Fr. Buena had gone to Pitíc for the purpose of founding a mission among them. The viceroy accepted the statement of his subordinate, and at once complained to the Fr. Guardian and his counsellors at Querétaro. The college, to avoid further annoyance and the repetition of what they knew were false charges, directed the Fr. President to agree to the governor's demands, imprudent as they might be. Fr. Gil then proceeded in person to Carrizal, accompanied only by a little boy who was to serve at the altar, and founded the mission among the Tiburones on November 26th 1772.

The missionary at once erected a hut which served as a church, and also constructed a small dwelling for himself and the boy. With the utmost kindness he invited the natives to listen to the catechism; but he soon discovered that the desire they had exhibited to the governor of becoming Christians was not powerful enough to make them listen to his instructions. Only a few presented themselves when they pleased.

The pueblo which the Indians had wanted and the

governor ordered consisted only of three shanties. Just so pretentious was their desire to become Christians as shown by their conduct. The viceroy had written to the college: "Name a Father missionary in whom are united the best qualities; for the recently pacified Seri need a missionary who will treat them with much affection, and will zealously devote himself to incline them to cultivate the soil and take up other occupations, so that insensibly he will make them learn the benefits of civil life and enjoy the fruits of religious teaching."

Though these well-meant directions might be put into practise among the Seri around Pitic, they were useless at Carrizal; for the only fruit the missionary could expect among them, on account of their mode of living, was the occasional baptism of a child or adult whom he might find at the point of death. Yet Fr. Gil from his barren mission wrote to the governor, Don Mateo Sastre, he was so satisfied that all he desired was to end his life among his Tiburones. (3) The wish was realized sooner than he expected; for after three months and nine days of hard, but almost fruitless labor, Fr. Gil, on the 7th of March, 1773, was cruelly put to death with stones and clubs by three Indians.

It is but just to relate that the tribe as a whole was not implicated in the murder for which there can be no reason given, except that, as Arricivita remarks, it was suggested by the devil. The chief of the band had the body decently buried and the grave marked with a cross. The governor reported the death of the missionary to the viceroy, who in turn communicated the news in a long sympathetic letter to the Fr. Guardian. The viceroy then ordered the removal of the body of the murdered priest for interment to the nearest church, which was at the presi-

(3) "Que estaba tan contento, que solo deseaba acabar en compañía de sus Tiburones la vida," Arricivita, 521.

dio de San Miguel at Horcasitas. The governor and curate of San Miguel accordingly repaired to Carrizal, and found the grave of the murdered missionary after six months still guarded by two Indians. On being opened only the skeleton was found, which however sent forth no disagreeable odor. The remains were then transferred to a casket and brought to Horcasitas. Fr. José de Caxa, who had meanwhile been appointed president, asked permission to take the body to Mission de Ures, in order that even in death the missionary might not be separated from his brethren. The petition was granted. Two Fathers then transported the body to the church of the mission, and buried it on the epistle side of the main altar, after the usual funeral ceremonies had taken place on October 7th, 1773, seven months after the murder occurred. (5)

The necessity of having two religious at each mis-

(5) Fr. Juan Chrisostomo Gil de Bernave, the first martyr among the Querétaranos in Sonora, was a native of the Villa de Aljambra, Aragon. Of his parents and early youth nothing is known. He studied theology in the monastery de Jesus at Zaragoza, and was regarded as a most exemplary religious. He was ordained to the priesthood in due time and employed in preaching and other missionary duties. When the Fr. Commissary arrived at the convent to obtain volunteers for the missionary college of Querétaro, Fr. Gil, then thirty-four years of age, asked permission to go to America. His request was granted. Leaving Cadiz, he arrived at Querétaro, by way of Merida and Vera Cruz, and remained at the college for four years. In 1767 he was one of the fourteen selected for the missions in Sonora. He reached mission Santos Angeles de Guevavi by way of Tepic, Guaimas, and Horcasitas about June 1763. There were attached to his mission the stations of Calabazas, Sonoytae, and Tumaéacori, twelve, six, and seven leagues distant respectively. The presidio of Tubac also required his services. Not knowing the language of the Indians, Fr. Gil went his rounds always accompanied by an interpreter, who after the Father's death declared him a saint. Fr. Gil was accustomed to use the discipline and wore on his body a cilicium, as the interpreter testified. On the resignation of Fr. Buena, Fr. Gil was appointed president which office he had occupied barely two years when he was murdered.

Of the three criminals who had acknowledged their crime, two were at once tried, found guilty, and executed by the Indian chief of the isle. The third one, Yxquisitis the chief conspirator and real perpetrator of the crime, attempted to escape by casting himself into the sea; but on being retaken he was brought before the judge at the presidio and put into prison, where he died with consumption three years later, after having been baptized by the curate of the presidio. Arricivita, 426-430; 515-21.

sion, and of providing for the new establishments on the Gila and Colorado rivers, moved the college of Querétaro to abandon the hospice or convent in the city of Pueblo de los Angeles. (6)

For the same reason it was resolved to cede the seven missions of Pimería Baja to the Bishop of the diocese. The viceroy, however, would not consent to this arrangement at the time. Permission was then asked to withdraw from the missions in Texas and Coahuila, where twelve of the Querétaro Fathers were active among the Indians. This was granted on condition that the Franciscans of Guadalajara and Zacatecas accepted those missions. Thus it was that the transfer came about. (7)

On July 6th, 1772, Fr. Antonio Reyes, one of the Sonora missionaries, but then in the City of Mexico, drew up a most interesting report on the state of the missions in both Pimerías. (8) From his statement we learn that the whole territory comprising Pimería Alta and Pimería Baja in ecclesiastical matters was then subject to the Bishop of Durango. Down to that date three Bishops had visited parts of this missionary district, and issued decrees of which some produced no little confusion, as we have already intimated. (9)

One regulation, which especially was a source of much annoyance, forbade the missionaries to administer the sacraments in their churches to any but Indians and the guards that happened to be stationed at the mission; or only by permission of the curate as the real parish priest. For that reason the entire province of Sonora was divided into two curacies. The missions of Pimería Alta and Baja, a territory

(6) Arricivita, 431-437. (7) See "Franciscans in Texas." (8) "NOTICIA DEL ESTADO ACTUAL de las Misiones que en la gubernacion de Sonora Administran los Padres del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro," por el Fray Antonio de los Reyes. Vide "Documentos" para la Historia de Mexico," pag. 724-765. (9) See page 38 this work.

measuring one hundred and fifty leagues from north to south, and eighty leagues from east to west, belonged to the one curacy of San Miguel de Horcasitas; whilst southern Sonora was subject to the curate of Tonibavi. There were no parish churches in either curacy. All the churches in the entire province of Sonora belonged to the missionaries. Only at the presidio of Horcasitas, where the governor resided, and at San Antonio de la Huerta, Tonibavi, and other places were there chapels for the governor, or miners and traders. Hence the episcopal decree worked no little hardship and annoyance to the missionaries, as Fr. Reyes, who himself later on became Bishop, demonstrated with some disgust.

Despite the efforts of the devoted missionaries, even at this period the Indians were so ignorant of religious truths that only Baptism distinguished them from the pagans. To remedy the evil the Fathers established a uniform method in their missions, an arrangement which had become more feasible by the arrival of several supernumerary religious. This method, which the Fathers had practised in Texas and Coahuila, had been proposed to Don Galvez by Fr. Mariano Buena, whilst the visitador General was at Mission de Ures, and heartily approved.

According to Fr. Reyes every morning at sunrise the bell called the faithful to Holy Mass, when an old Indian, commonly known as *Mador*, and two *fiscales*, would pass through the village and order all the children and unmarried persons to the church for Holy Mass. At its conclusion all recited the prayers and the catechism together with the missionary in the Spanish language. At sunset the Christian doctrine and prayers would be repeated in the little court in front of the church, when the rosary would be said, and the whole concluded with the chanting of the *Salve Regina* and the *Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*. On Sundays

and holydays the *Mador* and *fiscables* were ordered to see that the men, women, and children, washed and combed, and in clean clothes, attended Holy Mass. On these days High Mass was sung by a choir consisting of four or six Indian men or women accompanied with harps and violins.

In the season of Lent all were obliged to assist at Holy Mass daily, and recite the prayers in Spanish, when the missionary in the Indian language would explain the necessity and the manner of a good confession. On Sunday evenings a plain instruction would be given on such points as death, judgement, purgatory, hell, and heaven. In Holy Week in the principal mission churches the ceremonies and office would be performed as prescribed, and addresses made explaining those sacred functions.

At Easter time all had to comply with the obligations of the Church as far as capable. At first it seemed impossible to overcome the obtuseness of the Indians far enough to prepare them for confession and Holy Communion; but in later years all the young people, and a few of the old ones, had advanced sufficiently to make their confession in Spanish. In the principal villages, where the missionaries resided permanently, many Indian men and women frequented the Sacraments at Easter and on the principal holydays.

On the more solemn days of Our Lady there would be processions through the village, during which the rosary was chanted.

As regards civil and political affairs, Fr. Reyes says that annually, in the presence of the missionary, a chief, or mayor, or governor, and other officials or *alcaldes* were elected. In order to enjoy the proper esteem of the rest of the people these officials occupied the place of honor inside the church. The missionary had charge of all the temporalities of the mission as directed by the visitador general, but it

was the duty of the chief and alcaldes to see that the land was cultivated and the cattle taken care of.

When the season for planting the corn and other cereals arrived, all the Indians assembled at the little convent, where in the presence of the chief or justices the missionary distributed to each one as much seed as he wanted to plant. The chief or alcaldes kept account of the implements and yokes which each one took from the mission warehouse, and saw that they were properly returned.

The Indians, however, were free to work for themselves or for the mission. The former had to look to themselves for their maintenance. The fruit of the labor of the others was stored up in the general warehouse, whence they received food and clothing for themselves and families. When there were two priests at a mission, one of them would oversee the laborers, and often set an example by taking a hand in the work; otherwise they would employ some trustworthy Mexican to represent them. The sick, the orphans, and aged, and all others incapacitated for manual labor, likewise received food and clothing from the mission warehouse. Thus the missionary was the central figure in the whole system. He was the teacher, the physician, the attorney, the father and defender of the orphans, widows, oppressed, and the helpless of every description.

The churches and dwellings of the missionaries, as a rule, were constructed of adobes and roofed with timber, grass, and earth. The cottages of the Indians were grouped around the church, but as a rule poorly constructed of boughs. In some cases the Indians to please the Fathers would build their cottages of adobes with thatched roofs. At the time Fr. Reyes wrote, the natives cultivated little land, and for this little the missionary had to provide the tools and seeds, or there was no tilling of the soil.

The Indians generally used their own language. In

some of the villages there was not one that could speak Spanish; so that the missionary, until he had learnt to speak their language, was obliged to employ an interpreter in explaining the catechism.

Fr. Reyes tells us the Indians were corpulent and above medium height. Their faces appeared ferocious, on account of the manner in which they painted temples, eyes, and lips with black stripes.

As they walked about entirely naked, except for a breechcloth, shame and modesty were unknown to them. The men were armed with bows and arrows; which were reeds having a point of flint. Furniture and other utensils were not in use. Some women painted their hands, arms, and breasts, their dress consisting only of a petticoat or an apron made of the skins of animals. They were very unclean, brutal (*bestiales*) and frightful (*horrosas*) to behold. One or the other Indian that served the missionary at the altar, whom the Father induced to wear somewhat more clothing, must of course be excepted from this description, says Fr. Reyes.

As to the moral and Christian virtues, the Indians of the missions generally were in a more lamentable state than the pagans of the border regions. There was some excuse for the latter on the score of ignorance which those of the missions could not claim, because they enjoyed the instructions and examples of the missionaries; but it was impossible to instruct as it should have been done under the temporal and spiritual government that existed.

Fr. Antonio Reyes in his report describes the several missions of both Pimería Alta and Pimería Baja. The latter soon passed out of the hands of the Querétaranos, as we have already stated, and therefore may omit them in connection with the Arizona missions. There were, at the time Fr. Reyes wrote, eight missions in Pimería Alta which included the present Arizona, only two of which were within the

limits of the territory, as follows:

San Francisco Xavier del Bac. The church here was situated in a fertile plain, where the Indians cultivated a little soil, raising wheat, corn, and other cereals. The building was sufficiently spacious. The sacristy was well supplied with altar vessels and ornaments, but in a poor condition.

From the records, which Fr. Reyes had before him, we learn that at the close of 1771 there lived at San Xavier forty-eight families, besides seven widowers, (*viudos*) twelve widows, (*viudas*) and twenty-six orphans; or a community consisting of 170 souls.

The village, or *visita*, of San José del Tucson was situated six leagues (*seis leguas*) to the north of San Xavier. It had neither church nor dwelling for the missionary. Fr. Reyes found no record, but estimated that the heads of families, Christian and pagan, would number above two hundred.

Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, the only other mission in what is now Arizona, was the most eastern of the Pimería Alta missions. It had three *visitas*: Tumacácori, Calabazas, and Sonoitac. One league east of the pueblo of Tumacácori was the presidio of Tubac. To the west, about two leagues, was Mission Suameca; and to the north lay San Xavier.

The pueblo of Guevavi was situated on an arroyo in a fertile region, where a little farming was done by the Indians. The church and sacristy were well furnished with vestments of every color and with altar utensils. There were nineteen families in the mission, besides five widowers, seven widows, and twelve orphans, or a total of eighty-six souls.

The pueblo or *visita* of San Cajetano de Calabazas stood two leagues east of Guevavi, in a district very favorable to farming; but the Indians cultivated little or no land. There was neither church nor house for the visiting priest. Seventeen families, four widowers, seven widows, or a total of sixty-four souls

was all that remained faithful to the missionaries.

The village of San Ignacio de Sonoitac was situated in a valley surrounded by mountains, six leagues east of Guevavi and two from Calabazas. The soil was good, but little was cultivated. There was a church and house for the missionary at the place, but both were devoid of ornaments or furniture. When the Father appeared to administer the sacraments, or to celebrate Holy Mass, he was obliged to bring along all that was needed. Eighteen families, twenty widowers and single men, and twelve widows, or in all ninety-four Indians resided here.

The village of Tumacacori, was situated six leagues to the south of Guevavi, and one league from the presidio de Tubac in a very fertile region. The church and priest's house, however, were bare of furniture and ornaments. The population consisted of ninety-three souls, i. e. twenty-two families, twelve widowers, and ten orphans.

Mission Santa Maria de Suameca. This establishment was assaulted by savage Apaches in 1768, during which the church and mission house was destroyed. The missionary with some men, women, and children fled to the visita of Santiago de Cocóspera, where the missionary thereafter resided at the church of the place; but the soil was sterile at Cocóspera on account of the scarcity of water. Attempts were made to rebuild Mission Suameca, which is in fertile soil five leagues from the presidio of Terrenate, but it seems without success. The whole population of the mission with its visita did not exceed one hundred and ten souls, namely, thirty families, five widowers, and twenty widows.

Mission San Ignacio de Caburica. This mission was situated on an extensive and elevated fertile plain, surrounded by high mountains. Twelve leagues to the east was the village of Cocóspera. Five leagues south-east some Spaniards occupied the *real* of Santa Clara,

which had neither church nor dwelling for a priest. Further south from Santa Clara, about fifteen leagues from Caburica, lay Mission de Cucurpe. To the north as far as the Gila was a region covered with pagan Indians.

The Indians about the pueblo or mission of San Ignacio cultivated some wheat, corn, beans, etc. The church had three altars, and the sacristy was well furnished. The house of the Fathers adjoined the church. There were thirty-six families of Indians, four widowers, seven widows, and fifteen orphans in charge of the missionary, or altogether one hundred and forty-eight souls.

The visita of San José de Himuris, lay three leagues east of San Ignacio, bounded north and east by mountains. The soil was good, but the Indians cared little for farming. The church and priest's house was almost in ruins. Only one chalice, three chasubles, two albs, three amices, and other old and unserviceable articles formed the whole wealth of the vestry. Seven Indian families, six widowers, and nine orphans, or in all thirty-nine souls still lived in the neighborhood.

Mission Nuestra Senora de Los Dolores del Saric. The village of Saric lay in a fertile valley surrounded by mountains. Some of the Indians raised wheat, corn, etc. A church existed with a complete outfit. There were still attached to the mission thirty-two families, fifteen widowers, four widows and twelve orphans, or in all one hundred and thirty-seven souls.

The pueblo of Santa Maria Magdalena was situated two leagues to the east of San Ignacio, and three leagues from the town of Santa Ana. The house of the missionary was entirely in ruins. The church was a grand structure, but in a ruinous condition, and only the chapel of San Xavier was decently ornamented. The sacristy contained a chalice and a few old altar ornaments and some furniture. Only nine-

teen families, five widowers, one widow, and six orphans, or eighty-six souls in all formed the community. Twenty leagues east was Mission San Ignacio; eight leagues west lay Tubutama. The village of San José de Aquimuri two leagues from Saric southeast had no church; nor was there a dwelling for the visiting missionary. The community had dwindled down to fourteen families, five widowers, and two widows, or fifty-eight souls in all.

Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama. This establishment was situated in an extensive and fertile plain eight leagues northeast of Mission Saric, and between seventy and eighty leagues south of the Gila River. A little wheat, corn, beans, etc., was cultivated by the natives. The house of the Fathers was neat and spacious, and a garden furnished the missionaries with some of the produce they needed. The church was well supplied; the sacristy contained three chalices and everything else required for the divine service. The population consisted of forty-five families, twelve widowers, six widows and eighteen orphans, or in all one hundred and seventy-six souls.

The mission station of Santa Teresa, two leagues to the east of Tubutama, had a little church devoid of ornaments and a house for the Father. Thirteen families, seven widowers and single men, and two widows composed the Indian population of fifty-two souls.

Mission San Francisco de Atí. The old mission establishment of Atí and its visita occupied a valley six or seven leagues long and two or three leagues wide. Northeast four leagues distant was the mission of Tubutama; seven leagues southeast soldiers were stationed at the presidio de Altar. Though the soil around Atí was good, the Indians did little in the way of cultivation. The church at the pueblo was a small unadorned chapel. The sacristy outfit was poor. The Indian population numbered one hun-

dred and thirty-seven souls, i. e. thirty-six married couples with their children, seven widowers, two widows and fifteen orphans.

The village station of San Antonio de Aquitua (Oquitua), five leagues to the west of Atí, had neither church nor house for the visiting missionary. The records at this time give a population of one hundred and six souls, or twenty-three families, nine widowers, five widows, and ten orphans.

Mission Purísima Concepcion de Caborca. This mission with its two stations was situated in the most westerly part of Pimería Alta, eight leagues from Mission de Atí, and sixteen leagues from the Gulf of California. The pueblo of Caborca occupied a part of an extensive plain much exposed to inundations from a stream whose name Fr. Reyes does not mention. The missionary in 1771 asked permission to remove the establishment to a more elevated locality, with what result is not known. The soil was fertile, and especially favorable for the raising of cotton. The Indians cultivated some land in common, and also did some farming or gardening on their own account, raising wheat, corn, beans, etc. The house of the missionary was neat and had sufficient room. A garden adjoined the little convent. The church and sacristy were well supplied. One hundred and thirty-three families, seventeen widowers and single men, twenty-six widows, and eight orphans composed the Indian population numbering six hundred and thirty-four souls.

The visita of San Antonio del Pitiquin, distant two leagues east from Caborca, had neither church nor house for the Father. Seventy-five families, eight widowers, and eleven widows, or in all three hundred and sixty souls resided at this station.

The little station of San Juan del Bisanig, six leagues from Caborca possessed a church and also a house for the visiting missionary, but both were de-

void of ornaments or furniture. The land was fertile, but the Indians preferred fishing in the gulf, eight or ten leagues distant, to farming. Here too was a good-sized population consisting of sixty-three married couples with their children, eleven widowers, eight widows, and six orphans, or a total of two hundred and seventy-one souls. (2)

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTAIN ANZA'S FIRST EXPEDITION OVERLAND TO MONTEREY—FATHERS GARCÉS AND DIAZ—THE JUNCTION OF THE GILA AND COLORADO—FR. GARCÉS' ATTEMPT TO REACH THE MOQUI—APPEAL IN BEHALF OF THE MISSIONARIES—PREPARATIONS FOR A SECOND EXPEDITION—TRANSFER OF THE PIMERIA BAJA MISSIONS.

The prospects for an early founding of missions on the Gila and Colorado rivers, deemed so encouraging for awhile, disappeared in the course of time, and nothing was done for three years; but new interest was awakened in the region about the Colorado through the private speculations of a military officer. The captain of the presidio of Tubac had more than any one else opposed the explorations of Fr. Garcés; but when from the latter's diary he discovered that the Colorado could be passed without the use of ships, a feat till then believed impossible, Captain Don Juan Bautista Anza conceived the plan of advancing his own interest by opening a route to Monterey, on the coast, by way of Sonora and the Colorado River. After consulting with Fr. Garcés, who

(2) Unfortunately Fr. Reyes in his report does not mention the names of the missionaries stationed at the different missions. This is a great drawback to the proper understanding of the work of the Fathers. We shall endeavor later on to supply some of the names from other sources.

was enthusiastic over the project for missionary reasons, the Captain asked permission of the viceroy to undertake the trip overland.

Anza's petition fortunately reached Mexico at the time when Fr. Junípero Serra, superior of the California missions, was pleading in behalf of the missions before the viceregal court. He was at once consulted regarding the feasibility of a route to California overland, and heartily approved the plan. Thereupon the captain was ordered to proceed to Monterey, but to take Fr. Garcés with him, and in all cases to follow the advice of that experienced traveller. The Father was to be accompanied by another religious. The viceroy moreover sent a personal letter to Fr. Garcés which concluded in these words: "I was moved to agree to this expedition mainly by the accounts your Reverence forwarded regarding the result of your three successful journeys to the rivers Colorado and Gila; and I hope that in this one your Reverence will continue, as I request and charge you, proving your apostolic spirit; and that your hardships may be useful and agreeable to God and the king." (1)

Fr. Garcés and Fr. Juan Diaz accordingly joined the expedition which started out from the presidio of Tubac on the 8th of January, 1774, guided by an Indian from the mission of San Gabriel, California, Sabastian by name. This Indian had left San Gabriel in company of his father, mother, and wife, and had reached the Colorado in safety on account of his robust health, whilst his relatives had perished for want of water and food.

The story of the Indian brought consternation to

(1) Arricivita, 450-451, "Mi condescencia á que se execute (la expedicion) la han movido primeramente las noticias que V. R. ha comunicado de resulta de sus tres dichosas entradas hasta los rios Colorado y Gila; y espero que en la de ahora continúe V. R., como se lo ruego y encargo, acreditando su espíritu apostólico, y que sus fatigas sean útiles y agradable á Dios y al Rey." V. de Bancroft, Hist. of Texas, Vol. I, p. 717; Hist. Arizona, 389; Hist. California, Vol. I, 221.



FR. JUNIPERO SERRA. O. F. M.

the ranks of the troops; but Sebastian encouraged them by showing that, if he could thus have crossed the desert without provisions, then surely a number of soldiers ought to be able to pass over the same road when provided with everything necessary. This reasoning quieted the fears of the Spaniards, and the party of thirty-four men, 140 horses, and 65 cattle, set out and marched by way of Cabora through a disagreeable and waterless district until the 28th, when they arrived at San Marcelo de Sonoitac. Greater were the hardships encountered after that until a spring was discovered on the 5th of February in a deep arroyo. A Pápago Indian here warned the commander against the Yumas who intended to rob the travellers, in spite of Chief Palma. However, on finding that a messenger despatched to the Yumas had been received kindly, the party proceeded, and were soon welcomed on the road by Palma and his people. The chief explained that the unfriendly Indians belonged to another band of the tribe. Captain Anza now placed a silver medal, showing the image of the king, around the neck of Chief Palma, as a sign of fealty to the Spanish ruler, and gravely confirmed him in his office of chief over the Indians. The Fathers, on the other hand, at once exerted themselves in trying to instruct the great multitude that had gathered at their camp. Palma was much pleased with what he heard and saw, and therefore invited the whole party to his ranchería, which lay between two rivers, "estaba entre los dos rios." (2)

(2) Arriçivita, 452. It is difficult to explain what Arriçivita means here after one has become acquainted with the country around the junction of the rivers Gila and Colorado. It must be that a branch of the Gila existed at that time which entered the Colorado BELOW what is now Yuma City, Arizona. Palma's ranchería in that case would have been where Yuma now stands. This view would easily explain the difficulty, and it would seem to be confirmed by a note on page 222 of Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I. After saying: "Palma, a famous Yuma chief, entertained the Spaniards at his ranchería at San Dionisio, Isla de Trinidad, a kind of island formed by a double channel of the Gila at its junction with the

More than 200 persons of both sexes followed the Fathers. Going down the river (3) about half a league, Palma led the Spaniards to a ford where they could cross on horseback without any danger. On ascending an elevation on the bank of the river, (4) they found about 600 Indians gathered at the top. All treated the Fathers with the utmost familiarity; they were not contented to merely see the priests, but wanted to touch their habit and other things, so that in the end they became very annoying. From the captain and the missionaries the Indians received tobacco, beads, and other trinkets; and in turn obtained from the Indians the products of their little gardens or fields.

At this place a small stream which some leagues above separates from the River Colorado joins the Gila, thus forming an island sufficiently large to offer Chief Palma and his band of Indians a home. (5) The united streams measured 125 varas in width, and were five *palmas* deep. The water was somewhat brackish, (6) but the soil around was good for the cultivation of fruits which without labor afforded the Indians abundant food.

On the following day, February 9th, the party, accompanied by crowds of natives, crossed the Colorado below the junction. The stream at that time of the year is usually very low. Anza found that it was 200 varas wide and somewhat more than two varas deep. Proceeding for five days, the expedition passed

Colorado," Baneroft tells us: "One of the channels no longer carries water, and perhaps did so then only at high water. In Kino's map of 1701 San Dionisio is not represented as an island. Emory, "Notes," 95-6, in 1846 noted that the Gila once flowed to the south of its present channel, and says: "During freshets it is probable the rivers now discharge their surplus waters through these old channels."

(3) The Gila must be meant. (4) Probably the hill at the mouth of the Gila. (5) The writer in 1886 did find that the Colorado about two leagues above Yuma City separates into two streams, but united again just before the Gila enters the river. The island thus formed was nothing more than a sandbank a few feet above the water.

(6) Which is true of the Gila, but not of the Colorado.

called Santa Olaya within the country of the Cajuenches. Here Palma for fear of their enemies withdrew with his people. From the 14th of February Anza's party continued without guide through a desert, but on the 16th resolved to return to Santa Olaya and rest their animals, for whom neither feed nor water could be found. The caravan entirely worn out reached the lagoon on the 19th. The fact somehow became known to the Yumas, who with Palma again appeared and showed their sympathy. The rest lasted until the 2d of March, during which time Fathers Garcés and Díaz exercised themselves in instructing the large number of natives that flocked together at their camp. Though the missionaries had no interpreter, they had the satisfaction to see that they were understood to a large extent, as proof of which many Indians brought their idols to the priests to be put in a heap. Nearly all thereafter repeated the holy Names of Jesus and Mary, and others learned to make the Sign of the Cross. Fr. Garcés for six days also wandered about among the rancherías situated on the lagoon, in order to satisfy his zeal for souls, and then returned to the camp on the 1st of March.

Captain Anza now resolved to leave the greater part of the cattle and the goods behind with three soldiers and three mule drivers in charge of Chief Palma, who was much elated at the confidence placed in him. The march was then resumed on the 2d, and some rancherías of Cajuenches found, which Fr. Garcés had seen on his trip in 1771. Ten Indians saluted the soldiers, and brought to Fr. Garcés four idols which he broke before their eyes.

The explorers continued along sierras, lagoons, and through sandy deserts to the Puerto de San Carlos, or Gorgonio Pass, where the country of the Cajuenches ended and that of another tribe began. Fr. Garcés, on a former visit, for want of a better name, had called them Danzarines, on account of the violent

movements of their hands and feet in speaking. (7) The Rio Sta Ana was crossed by means of a bridge of boughs on the 20th of March, and on the 22d the weary party entered Mission San Gabriel. Since leaving Caborca the party had travelled 214 leagues; but in a direct line the road would have been less than 200 leagues.

The travellers had exhausted their supply of food, and found equal destitution at San Gabriel; but the resident missionaries, Fathers Paterna and Cruzado, entertained them as well as they could, and welcomed them with a Mass, sermon, and Te Deum. A cow was slaughtered, and in ten days four of Anza's men returned from San Diego with supplies that had come on the ship Santiago. While at San Gabriel, on March 24th, Anza stood as sponsor for a child baptized by Fr. Diáz. About the same time Fr. Junípero Serra came up from San Diego, and brought to Fr. Diáz the interesting news that a Father had arrived at the port with all the instruments for the proper measurement of latitude and longitude. The mathematically inclined religious at once hastened to San Diego to see the instruments. Fr. Garcés on the other hand, returned with the remainder of the troops to the Colorado, in obedience to the request of Captain Anza. The return did not take more than 12 days and a half, during which the party travelled 86 leagues; whereas in coming they had marched 20 days and made 109 leagues. However, the men left at the river to care for the cattle, had run away to Caborca on hearing that Anza, the Father, and soldiers had been killed by the savages. Captain Anza resumed his march to the presidio of Monterey with six men (8) on the 10th of April, and returned to San Gabriel on the 1st of May.

(7) This would show that Fr. Garcés had indeed crossed the Colorado before, a fact that could not be learnt from the confused narrative of Arriçivita given on page 56 of this work. (8) Arriçivita says four.

On May 3d, he, with, Fr. Diaz and the guards started for the Colorado, where they were welcomed eight days later. As the river had begun to rise, the whole party crossed it on rafts constructed by the Indians; and, beginning the home march on the 15th of May, 1774, they arrived at Tubac on the 26th. The expedition had accomplished all that it had been intended to do, in showing the practicability of the new route. (9)

(9) Arrievita, 450-455. We supply from Bancroft a description of the whole route of this famous expedition which may be of interest to the local historians and missionaries....Jan. 8, 1774, from Tubac 1 league to ford of San Ignacio; Jan. 9th, southwest to Arivaac valley; 10th, s. s. w. to Agua Escondida, 7 l.; 13th, to Saric, 7 l.; 14th, to La Estancia, 4 l.; 15th, s. w. to Ati, 5.5 l.; 16th, w. to Oquitoa, 6 l.; 17th, to Altar presidio, 2 l.; 19th, w. n. w. to Pitic, 5 l.; 20th, to Caborea, 2 l.; 22d, n. w. to S. Hdefonso, 4 l.; 23d, to Aribaipia or S. Eduardo, 9 l.; 24th, to pool of S. Juan de Mata, 4 l.; 25th, 6 leagues; 26th, w. n. w. to rancheria of Quitoac or S. Louis Bacapa, 6 l.; 27th, n. to foot of a hill, 5.5 l.; 28th, n. n. e. to Sonoita, 5 l.; 29th, w. to Carrizal, 9 l.; 30th, n. n. w. 6 l.; 31st, w. n. w. 9 l.; Febr. 1st, n. w. to Purificacion, 3 l.; 4th, to springs, 5 l.; 5th, to Agua Escondida, 7 l.; 6th, s. w. 6¼ l.; 7th, to Trinidad Island and Palma's rancheria, 10½ l., called by the Jesuits San Dionisio; 8th, forded the Gila; 9th, forded the Colorado, near the site of later Mission Concepcion.

Feb. 10th to 12th, 5 l. w. n. w. and 4.5 l. s. w., and s. to Laguna de Santa Olaya. (According to the return trip Sta Olaya was 4 l. w. of the river and 8 l. w. s. w. of San Dionisio, or Isla de Trinidad.) Feb. 13th to 19th, off into the desert and back to the laguna; March 2d, 5 l. w. s. w. to Laguna del Predicador; March 3d to 5th, 3 l. w. s. w., 6.5 l. w. n. w.; 6 l. w. n. w. with low sierra on left; 3 l. n. w. across the hills; 2 l. w.; 1.5 l. n. and n. w., in sight of an estero or marsh, to Pozo de San Eusebio; March 6th, 4 l. w. to Santo Tomás, in middle of sierra; March 7th and 8th, 4 l. n. w., and one l. n. e. to Pozos de Sta Rosa de las Lajas; (18 leagues in a direct line from Santa Olaya.) March 9th and 10th, 11 l. n. to S. Sebastian Peregrino, a large CIENEGA in the Cajuenche nation; (22 l. w. and w. n. w. from Sta Olaya.) March 11th, 1.5 l. w. on same CIENEGA; March 12th, 6 l. w. n. w. to S. Gregorio; March 14th, 6 l. n. (n. w.) to Sta Catarina; (10 l. from S. Sebastian.) 6 l. n. n. w. to Puerto de S. Carlos following the cañada; March 16th and 17th, 3 l. n. w. and n. n. w. to Laguna and Valley of Principe; (or S. Patricio, 8 l. w. n. w. from Sta Catarina.) March 18th (4) l. n. and n. n. w. to Valle de S. José on a fine stream; March 19th, 6 (5) l. n. w. to Laguna de S. Antonio de Bucareli; March 20th, 5 l. n. w. and 2.5 l. w. n. w. to Rio Sta Ana; March 21st, 7 l. w. n. w. to Arroyo de Osos (or Alisos); March 22d to San Gabriel.

Return, May 10th, to the junction at San Dionisio; 15th, up the south bank of the Gila, 3 l.; 16th, 9 l.; 17th, past watering place of San Pascual 8 l.; 18th, to the first Cocomaricopa rancheria or S. Bernardino, 4 l.; 19th, up the north bank of the Gila, 8 l.; 30th, up south bank, 5 l. to within one league of SS. Simon y Judás de Upasoitac; 21st, through Upasoitac, leaving the river where it turns north, 8 l.; 22d, to the Pima rancheria of Su-

From Tubac Captain Anza went to Mexico to lay the result of his trip overland to California before the viceroy. His Excellency had also wished to learn whether or not it was possible to open a route and maintain communication between New Mexico and Monterey, California, and had requested the Fr. Guardian of the college at Querétaro to make the necessary investigations. The Fr. Guardian had selected Fr. Garcés for that work, and directed him to forward a letter to the nearest missionary in New Mexico, and to have himself informed as to the distances. For this reason Fr. Garcés did not accompany the troops back to Tubac, but remained at Oparsoitac, (Upasoitac) which was called SS. Simon and Judás, about 38 leagues above the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, below the Big Bend. He resolved to go alone, save for a servant of Captain Anza who was to be his companion. Fr. Garcés proposed to enter the country of the Yavipais and Niforas Indians, but as usual there was trouble about obtaining guides; none of the Pimas or Cocomaricopas would show him the road, because they were not on good terms with the Yavipais. Finally two Jalchedunes from the Colorado River offered to guide the Father; then the valiant servant of the captain objected for fear of the Indians. He was therefore allowed to remain with the Pimas.

Trusting to the Providence of God and the good will of his guides, Fr. Garcés travelled thirty leagues to a large lagoon, where he found two well populated settlements of Jalchedunes. These Indians cultivated wheat to a great extent. Near them began the frontier of a most hostile tribe, the Quilmurs, wherefore

taquison, where are some old ruins at Casas Grandes, 6 l.; 23d, to Tutirituar, or S. Juan Capistrano, a rancheria of 300 souls, 2 l.; 24th, along the Gila, 2 l. to within 2 l. of the Casa Grande, thence south; 25th, south to Tucson, 24 l. from the Gila; 26th, 5 l. to Bac and 15 l. to Tubac, 103 leagues from San Dionisio. Bancroft, *Hist. Calif.*, Vol. I. 222-223; *Hist. Arizona*, 289; *Hist. Texas* Vol. I. 717.

the explorer thought it wiser not to proceed through their land up the river (10). The Jalchedunes advised him to leave the letter with them, and when the mezquites were ripe they would forward it to the missionary in New Mexico. He inquired about the distance to the people that made the "mantas prietas," and was told it was five day's travel; and that the nearest missionary resided seven day's travel from their own camps. These Indians treated the Father with even more kindness than he had experienced at the hands of those farther down the river; and besides he noticed that more people wore blankets made by the Moqui, or by the Gileños. The missionary saw that it was useless to try to reach the Moqui at that time, on account of the scarcity of water, and also, because the Fr. President had forbidden him to venture too far into the interior; he therefore resolved to return. Several Jalchedunes offered to guide him back, but as poor Fr. Garcés had no more presents to bestow on so many, he selected only one Indian who carried the provisions, and prepared the meals for him consisting only of the atole made of wheat flour. The good native also urged on the horse which showed signs of exhaustion. On reaching the Cocomaricopas, they were obliged to rest for several days. Fr. Garcés gladly remained with these Indians because of their good dispositions towards Christianity. After many hardships the intrepid wanderer at last arrived at his mission, San Xavier del Bac, on July 10th, having seen on his journey, as he thought, about 24,000 pagan Indians. (11)

(10) Colorado or Santa Maria River, Bancroft says. (11) Arricivita, 455-456,

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF THE MISSIONS—PETITION OF THE PROCURADOR—EXPEDITION FROM SONORA TO THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.—FATHERS GARCÉS, FONT, AND EYZARCH.

The state of the missions in the Pimerías during this period remained the same. Nothing had been done to ease the superhuman yet almost fruitless work of the devoted religious, as no action had been taken by the government regarding the oft-repeated complaints and recommendations. The Apaches continued to devastate the mission establishments with fire and blood, and drove away cattle and horses. The Indians who had settled down near the missions or visitas were the same indolent, indifferent, and immoral creatures as before, to the intense grief of the Fathers who found it impossible to change the conditions. The territory in charge of the individual missionaries was too extensive to permit that anything permanent be effected. Once more, therefore, the college of Querétaro through the procurador in August 1773 appealed to the viceroy in behalf of the Fathers on the missions; but his statement of the facts did not meet with the reception that was expected. The cold reply came from Mexico that in the emergency of an attack by the Apaches, the missionaries could easily have recourse to the nearest presidio. As to an assistant, or second priest at the several missions, whom all desired, not only for the sake of the Indians, but also in order that two Fathers might live together as became religious, the viceroy declared that this could not be permitted generally. There were many districts, he claimed, in which the

missionaries resided so close together that they could very well meet and enjoy each other's company and assistance.

The procurador did not find it difficult to prove that the viceroy labored under a misapprehension. He showed his Excellency that usually the cunning savages fell upon the establishments without a previous warning, and that often the missions were in ruins before the soldiers of the presidio could be notified. In answer to the viceroy's second point, the procurador, in the same letter of September 18th, furnished a list of the missions with their distances from one another, according to the report of Fr. Reyes of the previous year. From this statement his Excellency learned that the Fathers of the two missions San Ignacio and Tubutama, which lay nearest together, had to travel 16 leagues in order to make their confession to each other. The missions in other parts of the country were much farther apart, and this rendered life for the lonely religious deprived of the counsel and assistance of a brother priest, extremely burdensome. (1)

The simple statement of the procurador this time at least had some effect. The viceroy requested the college to hold a regular visitation of the missions in Sonora, to draw up a report, and to hand it to the governor, who was to forward the same to the court of Mexico. In obedience to this order the Fr. Guardian directed the Fr. President of the missions to visit the establishments, or, in the event of sickness or inability, to delegate another Father to do so and report as directed. This was done to the intense satisfaction of the missionaries, who felt happy to be able to unburden their consciences freely, and have their scruples regarding the insufficient catechetical instructions of the neophytes, especially at the out-

(1) See *Franciscans in California*, pages 10-11; Accicivita, 158.

side stations, examined by one who understood them from personal observations. The whole report was then transmitted as ordered by the viceroy, and copies of the same forwarded to the college. Arricivita does not say who held the visitation; but there the matter ended, for nothing came of the whole transaction. The old misery continued until Captain Anza arrived in Mexico after having demonstrated the feasibility of the overland route. Anza also brought Fr. Garcés' diary and letters in which he again proposed the founding of missions on the Colorado and the Gila, under the protection of a strong military guard against the everlasting attacks of the restless Apaches. As Anza could not say that he had seen the sites recommended by Fr. Garcés, nothing again came of the report, except that the viceroy declared the places should be first examined. (2)

However, towards the close of 1774 royal orders arrived from Spain directing Viceroy Bucareli to send reinforcements to the California missions. Another expedition was therefore equipped and placed in charge of Don Anza. He was instructed to examine the proposed mission sites in company of the Fathers, on the Gila as well as the Colorado, because it was the intention of the government to found the missions as soon as he should return from the coast.

It was also given out that the two presidios of San Miguel de Horcasitas and Buenavista should be removed, one to the Gila and the other to the Colorado, as protection for the contemplated missions. The inspector-general, Don Hugo O'Connor, then visiting the military posts of the country, was advised of the plan, and he accordingly wrote to Fr. Garcés on December 13th, 1775, among other things as follows:

“The whole proposition regarding the transfer of the presidios of Horcasitas and Buenavista to the

(2) Arricivita, 456-461.

rivers Gila and Colorado has my approval; and though the execution of the order is left to me, the transfer cannot be accomplished until your Reverence returns from the journey." (3) It was now plain that the viceroy earnestly desired the founding of missions on the Colorado and Gila under the protection of the presidios named, and that for this reason he directed Fr. Garcés and a companion priest to remain behind at the Colorado awaiting the return of the expedition, and meanwhile to prepare the natives for the blessings in store for them.

On learning of the intentions of the government, the college in turn made preparations to meet the wishes of the viceroy. It was, however, found impossible to furnish the required number of missionaries. The Father Guardian with his counsellors, therefore, resolved to cede the missions in Pimería Baja to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Durango, in order to transfer the missionaries stationed there to the northern establishments; but the Bishop thought it was too early to place those missions in charge of secular priests. Thereupon the provincial of the Franciscans in Xalisco was informed that the viceroy would be pleased if the province took charge of the missions in Pimería Baja. The transfer was harmoniously effected in 1774. These missions had been in the care of the Querétaranos since the year 1768. (4)

Immediately after the Board of War had approved the plan of Viceroy Bucareli to send out an expedition for the Port of San Francisco, preparations were made to collect the necessary number of soldiers, colonists, cattle, etc. At San Felipe in Sinaloa a regular recruiting-office was opened, and men and material forwarded to San Miguel de Horcasitas which

(3) O'Connor recommended as sites for frontier presidios S. Bernardo Xagui-onar, Sta Cruz, and Junta de los Rios. The only change ever made was that of Tubac to Tucson. Bancroft, Hist. Arizona, 391.

(4) Arricivita, 460; 459.

was the headquarters. The expedition was in charge of Don Juan Bautista Anza, who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. By request of the viceroy, the Fr. Guardian ordered Fr. Pedro Font to accompany the troops for the purpose of gaining the good will of the natives along the road, to instruct them as the opportunity offered, and to take down the geological observations along the whole route. Likewise by request of the viceroy Fathers Garcés and Tomas Eyzarch were told to accompany the expedition as far as the Rio Colorado, there to examine suitable sites for the proposed missions, and to prepare the minds of the Indians for the great blessings planned in their behalf. From experience Fr. Garcés knew that it would be impossible to obtain interpreters for all the different dialects spoken by the natives along the route which it was intended to travel, and that he should have to converse with the Indians by means of signs to a great extent. He therefore had a canvas prepared showing on one side the picture of the Blessed Virgin, and on the other that of a condemned soul in hell. On his breast, as before, he wore a crucifix which he was accustomed to kiss frequently before his hearers. This had excited wonder and provoked questions on their part which he had always been ready to answer.

The expedition was not in marching order until the 21st of October, 1775. (5) It then left Tubac under the protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe, St. Michael, and St. Francis of Assisi, after the celebration of Holy Mass. (6)

(5) Bancroft says it was Tuesday the 23d. Hist. Cal., 258-260.

(6) "The force that set out from Tubac consisted, FIRST, of Anza, commander, Fr. Pedro Font of the Querétaro Franciscans, chaplain, ten soldiers of the Horcasitas presidio, eight muleteers, four servants, and Mariano Vidal purveyor—twenty-five persons in all who were to return to Sonora; SECOND, Fathers Francisco Garcés and Tomas Eyzarch, (Eixarch, Esiare,) destined to remain on the Rio Colorado with three servants and three interpreters; and THIRD, Alférez José Joaquín Moraga and Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva, twenty-eight soldiers, eight from the presidio force and

The route passed by San Xavier del Bac and Tucson. On the 29th Cerro Tacca was reached. From there Fr. Garcés sent a messenger to the Pimas on the Gila to notify them of the advance of the expedition, in consequence of which next day the chief of three pueblos, with a large number of Indians on horseback, came to welcome the Fathers. He repeatedly urged the missionaries to remain with his people, in order to instruct and baptize them. The troops on the 31st encamped at a lagoon near the Gila River.

“November 1st we left the laguna,” says Fr. Pedro Font, “at half past nine a. m., and at one p. m. arrived at Uturituc. The Indians, according to my calculation about one thousand, received us in two files, the men on one side, the women on the other; and when we alighted, they all came by turns to salute us, and shake hands with us, first the men and then the women, when they manifested great joy at seeing us. They lodged us in a shed of boughs, which they had erected on purpose, and, although gentiles, planted a large cross in front thereof, and then went and fetched water to the camp for the people. On All Souls’ Day we three priests said nine Masses. (7)

“We then left Uturituc at 11 a. m., and at 3 p. m. stopped on the banks of the Gila, near the village of Sutaquison, having travelled about four leagues. The inhabitants of the pueblo, some five hundred souls, came out to receive and salute us with demonstrations of great joy. On the road we passed two other towns.” (8) “In this small district,” says Fr. Gar-

twenty new recruits; twenty-nine women who were wives of soldiers; 136 persons of both sexes belonging to the soldiers’ families, and four extra families of colonists; seven muleteers, two interpreters, and three vaqueros—altogether 207 destined for California, making a grand total of 235, to say nothing of eight infants born on the way. The live-stock of the expedition consisted of 165 mules, 340 horses, and 320 head of cattle.” Bancroft, *Ibid.*

(7) A privilege enjoyed by the clergy of Mexico to this day, we believe.

(8) Fr. Font as quoted by Bartlett’ “Personal Narrative,” Vol. II, 268.

cés, "there are five pueblos inhabited by about 2,500 Indians. They cultivate extensive fields of wheat, corn, cotton, calabazas, and various other kinds of fruit, for which purpose good water ditches surround and run through the fields. The natives were dressed in cloaks made of cotton or wool."

When Fr. Garcés noticed their good disposition towards Christianity, he preached to them in their own language, which was the same spoken at his mission. Meanwhile he explained to them the meaning of the picture of the Blessed Virgin, and then that of the condemned soul. His words and pictures produced a great commotion which spread among the Indians of the whole country.

"The commandant determined that we should rest to-day," Fr. Font writes, "and thus we had an opportunity to examine the large building called Montezumas House (Casa Grande), situated at the distance of a league from the Rio Gila, and three leagues E. S. E. of the laguna. We were accompanied thither by some Indians, and by the chief of Uturituc, who on his way related to us the history and tradition respecting said house as handed down from their forefathers, which is composed altogether of fiction confusedly mixed with some Catholic truths. We carefully examined this edifice and its ruins, of which I give the following explanation and description:

"The large house, or palace of Montezuma, according to the histories and meagre account of it which we have from the Indians, may have been built some five hundred years ago; for, as it appears, this building was erected by the Mexicans, when, during their transmigration, the devil led them through various countries until they arrived at the promised land of Mexico. In their sojourns, which were long ones, they built edifices and formed towns. The site on which this house is built is level on all sides,

and at the distance of about one league from the Rio Gila. The ruins of the houses which composed this town extend more than one league towards the east and other cardinal points; and all this land is partially covered with pieces of pots, jars, plates, etc., some common and others painted with different colors, white, blue, red, etc., which is a sign that this has been a large town, inhabited by a people distinct from the Pimas of the Gila River, who do not know how to manufacture such earthenware. We made an exact survey of this structure and of its location, which we measured in the mean time with a lance; and the measure I afterwards reduced to geometrical feet, which gave a little more or less than the following result:

“The house forms an oblong square, facing exactly to the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south; and round about it there are ruins, indicating a fence or wall, which surrounded the house and other buildings, particularly in the corners, where it appears there has been some edifice like an interior castle or watch-tower; for in the angle which faces towards the southwest there stands a ruin with its divisions and an upper story. The exterior wall extends from north to south four hundred and twenty feet, and from east to west two hundred and sixty feet. The interior of the house consists of five halls; the three middle ones being of one size, but the two extreme ones are longer. The three middle ones are twenty-six feet in length from north to south, and ten feet in breadth from east to west. The two extreme ones measure twelve feet from north to south, and thirty-eight feet from east to west.” (9) “All these apartments are eleven feet high, and the walls constructed of adobes are four feet thick.” (10)

After proceeding on their way for two leagues, the

(9) Fr. Font, *ibid*; 13th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, 296-297.

(10) Arricivita, page 462.

expedition arrived at a laguna whose water sickened those that drank of it, but on continuing, always along the Gila, a place called Agua Caliente was reached. Here a stop was made in order to give a needed rest to the sick, the horses, and cattle. A town of the Coconaricopas was close by: Fr. Garcés therefore took occasion to preach by means of an interpreter to about 1000 Indians. The picture of the condemned soul, supplemented by the fervent address of the zealous missionary, caused so much consternation that they desired to become Christians in order to escape hell.

After marching for three days the party crossed the River Gila, and on the fifteenth they rested near some Indian rancherías where Fr. Garcés' pictures had a similar effect to that produced among other Indians. In one place an old Indian made a remarkable reply to the Father. When the missionary proposed that all the men come together in order that the commander of the troops might appoint one to act as chief or judge, this old Indian answered: 'Behold, Father, justice exists to punish the bad; but our people are not bad. Why then have justice? You Spaniards have already seen that we do not steal, we do not quarrel; and though we have one wife, we have no license to commit anything bad.'(11)

(11) "Mira, Padre, el Justicia es para castigar lo malo; pues no siendo nosotros malos; para que es la Justicia? Ya habeis visto los Españoles, que no hurtamos, que no refumamos, y aunque estemos cerca de una muger, no tenemos licencia de hacer una cosa mala." "It is not easy to believe in such a degree of virtue," says Arrievita; "but if true we must admire the natural light of reason which the Lord had bestowed upon those barbarians, by means of which they could know His Commandments, which seem to be effaced in the detestible ways of many Catholics." The writer, from California to Michigan, never found a tribe of Indians that could truly speak as the old Indian did; nor does he believe they existed anywhere within the boundaries of the United States; or if so they have degenerated to a low degree. It must be observed that, in the sight of a Christian, many things are wrong that cause an Indian no scruples whatever. When among the Yumas years ago, the writer questioned a pagan: "Where do the bad Yumas go when they die?" He shook his head and declared: "We have no BAD Indians." Yet, their women and girls especially were very lascivious.

The expedition now advanced more slowly on account of the women. After three days they recrossed the Gila, and on the tenth of November came to the Cerro de Metate. Here a Yuma Indian told them, in the name of Chief Palma, that a hearty welcome awaited them among the Yumas and Jalchedunes at the junction of the rivers. Two days latter Chief Palma, his brother, and another chief came to meet Anza and his following. A third time the Gila was crossed, and on the next day the Spaniards were encamped under a shed constructed by the Yumas for their white guests.

Very soon many Indians of both sexes appeared in festival array, when in the presence of all the treaty formed between the two tribes of the Yumas and Cocomarcopas was ratified. The junction of the Gila with the Colorado was only one league distant from the camp. The fore part of the next day was spent in passing the soldiers, colonists, horses, and cattle over the Rio Colorado. It was accomplished without accident by one o'clock. The width of the river was found to be 400 yards, and the depth only one yard, as this was the season for low water. A dwelling was now constructed at the ranchería of Chief Palma, opposite the mouth of the Gila, for Fathers Garcés and Eyzarch, who, according to the directions of the viceroy, were to remain with these Indians during the time of the expedition, in order to find suitable sites for the proposed missions.

On the 5th of December the expedition proceeded on its way for four days when it reached the laguna de Santa Olaya. A number of Cajuenche Indians appeared there with eatables for the wanderers. In return they received tobacco, glass beads, and other things. More than 3000 Indians flocked together at the lagoon to gaze at the novel sight. On the 24th of January 1776 all arrived at San Gabriel, which was in charge of Franciscans from the great monastery

of San Fernando, Mexico. About the same time Rivera, the governor of California, passed through San Gabriel on his way to San Diego to punish the Indians at that place for the murder of Fr. Jaume (Jayme) on November 4th. Don Anza left the expedition at San Gabriel and went with Rivera to San Diego accompanied by Fr. Font and seventeen soldiers. They returned on the 12th of February and resumed the march to the coast on the 21st. On the 2d of March the immigrants reached San Luis Obispo, where next day Don Anza stood as godfather to several native children baptized by Fr. Font. Four days later they entered Mission San Antonio, and finally, on the 10th of March all arrived safely at the presidio of Monterey. Next morning Fr. Junípero Serra, the president of the missions in California, with four religious came to congratulate the commander and Fr. Font upon the safe termination of their long journey. Then both turned to pay a visit to Mission San Carlos del Carmelo, where they were welcomed by seven other Franciscans singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Commander Anza here was attacked with a severe pain in the thigh which compelled him to take to his bed. It was not till eleven days after that he could mount his horse and proceed with Fr. Font to the port of San Francisco. Four days later they came to a lagoon or spring in the immediate neighborhood of the port. After erecting a cross at the "mouth of the port," now known as Lobos Creek, they returned to Monterey on the 8th of April. They had been unable to converse with the natives near the port, as those Indians spoke a dialect entirely different from any known to them. On the 14th of April, having turned over his company, and all connected with the proposed Mission of San Francisco, to Moraga, Don Anza began his return march with Fr. Pedro Font and twenty men. Fr. Font says there were 193 souls of the new colony left at Monterey. About fif-

teen days later they again appeared at Mission San Gabriel. (12)

After resting for some time Don Anza, Fr. Font, and the soldiers set out for the Colorado, and on the 11th of May reached the Puerto de la Concepcion, just below Palma's rancharía, nearly, if not exactly, identical with the site of the modern Fort Yuma, Calif., now utilized as an Indian school in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph. They found that Fr. Eyzarch and Chief Palma had removed their habitations to a more elevated location on account of the overflow of the Colorado. Fr. Garcés had gone away long before in order to visit other Indian tribes. On hearing that he was among the Jalchedunes, Colonel Anza sent an Indian messenger with a letter to Fr. Garcés, requesting him to return within three days in order to accompany the troops homeward. As neither missionary nor Indian appeared, it was thought that he had penetrated into New Mexico, or that possibly he was sick, or had been killed. Without waiting the commander moved the troops across the river by means of rafts on the 14th. (13)

Chief Palma had often conversed with Fr. Eyzarch about the glories of the Church, Spanish grandeur, and other topics of interest, so that he determined to accompany the Spaniards to see the viceroy. He therefore requested Fr. Eyzarch to obtain Don Anza's consent. The commander agreed to the proposition, and thus it was that Palma, his brother, the son of Chief Pablo, and a Cajuenche Indian had the opportunity of presenting their petition for missionaries to the court of Mexico themselves.

Following the banks of the Gila for two days, they turned to the right, and arrived at San Miguel de Horcasitas by way of Sonoita, Caborca, and Altar

(12) Arrievita, 462-465. See "Franciscans in California," 74, 79, 138, 227, 266, 282, 290; Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*; *Hist. Texas*, Vol. I.; *Hist. Arizona*; Palou, *Vida del Junípero Serra*, 159; 187-187; 204-5. (13) Arrievita, 467, 477, 489.

on the first of June. The trip had lasted 145 days, during which, under the protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe, they had marched more than 1150 leagues without any mishap worth recording. (14)

(14) Arricivita, 468; Bancroft, *Hist. California*, Vol. I, 273.

The diary kept by Anza, Fr. Font, and Fr. Garcés of the expedition through Arizona was as follows: October 23d, 1775, Tubac to La Canoa, 4 leagues; 24th, to Llano Grande or Punta de los Llanos, 4 l.; 25th, to San Xavier del Bac, 5 l.; 26th, to a point one league past Tucson, (Tuison, or or Tuquison,) 5 l.; 27th, to Tutuetac, or Frente Negra Mts, or Llano del Azotado, 5 l.; 28th, to Ditt-pax, pueblo viejo, or Oitapars (Oytapayts), 6 l.; 29th, to Bajio de Aquituno, Quitac, Ttacca, or Mt. Taceo, 5 l.; 30th, to Camani, or La Laguna, on the Gila, 10 l.; 31st, devoted to rest and to an examination of the Casa Grande; Nov. 1st, down the river to Tutunitucan, or S. Juan Capistrano de Uturituc (Utitluc), 4 l.; 2d, to Encarnacion Sutaquison, last of the Pimas (other Pima rancherías were S. Andrés, Tubuscabors, Atison, and S. Serafino del Napcub), 2 or 4 l.; 3d, to Laguna del Hospital, not far above the junction of the Asuncion, 2 l.; 4th to 6th, detained by illness of a woman; 7th s. w., to cut off the bend, to Puerto de los Cocomaricopas, 6 l.; 8th, to SS. Simon y Judás de Opaioitac, or Uparsoitac, or Posociom, 7 l.; 11th, to rancherías de S. Martin of the Opa, 1½ l.; 12th, to San Diego on the river, 4 l.; 13th, to Rinconada, or Aritoac, across the river, 4 l.; 14th, to Agua Caliente, 4 l.; 16th, to San Bernardino, 7 l.; 17th, to El Pescadero, in the Yuma country, 1½ l.; 18th, to S. Pascual, recrossing the river, 3 l.; 22d, to hill of Santa Cecilia, or Meta-te, 5 l.; 25th, to Laguna Salada, 4 l.; 26th, to cerros del Cajon, 4 l.; 27th, to Los Carritos, 3 l.; 28th, to junction of the Gila and Colorado, which was crossed, 4 l.; December 4th, off for Monterey. The route followed was nearly the same as in Anza's trip, and substantially that of the modern railroad through Coahuila Valley and San Gorgonio Pass. The first halt was at the rancherías of San Pablo, or of Chief Pablo, as Fr. Font says, where a mission was founded later on between 3 and 4 leagues from the junction. The distances are from Anza; Fr. Font often makes them greater.

The return march from the Colorado was as follows: May 14th, crossing of the Colorado below the Gila; 15th, up the Gila to Cerros del Cajon, 5 l.; (or 7); 16th, to the Laguna Salada, 7 l. (or 4); 17th, leaving the river for the southeast to Pozos de Enmedio, or Zacatal Duro, 8 l. (or 11); 18th, e. s. e. past Tinajas de Candelaria to Puerto Blanco, or Llano del Fuzal 9 l. (or 18); 19th, southeast to Arroyo del Sonoitac, or Carrizal, 8 l. (or 10); 20th, past the ruined mission of S. Marcelo de Sonoitac, 12 l.; 21st, past San Luis Quitobac to San Juan de Mata, 14 l. (or 17); 22d, past San Eduardo de Aribacipia to San Ildefonso, 11½ l. (15); 23d, to Caborca; 9 l. Bancroft; *Hist. Arizona*, 292-293.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MISSIONARY TOUR OF FR. FRANC. GARCÉS ALONG THE COLORADO AND THROUGH SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—HIS RECEPTION EVERYWHERE.

“Fr. Francisco Garcés was never more happy than when engaged in converting souls from paganism,” says Arrievita; “and it seemed as though he lived on the bread of Divine Providence alone. He carried no provisions, but subsisted upon what the Indians would offer him. No road, be it ever so rough or dangerous, could detér him; the most perilous situations were sweet to him, if only he could give the natives an idea of Almighty God who created them, and of the loving Savior who redeemed them.”

With such a disposition the famous traveller began a journey which was indeed apostolic. Leaving his companion, Fr. Tomás Eyzarch at Palma’s ranchería, opposite the mouth of the Gila, he started out on December 5th, 1775, to visit the tribes along the Colorado down to where it enters the Gulf of California. He travelled without other baggage than his breviary, one tunic, and the picture of Our Lady, and without other escort than a California Indian and two Pima interpreters, who carried a little stock of tobacco and glass beads with which to gain the good will of the natives. He reached the ranchería of chief Pablo on the same day. At the first opportunity he addressed the Indians on the divine mysteries and the last things of man, illustrating his speech by means of the picture of the Blessed Virgin and that of the condemned soul.

From this band of Yumas Fr. Garcés passed on to the Laguna de Santa Eulalia (Olaya), where he once more met Fr. Pedro Font with Anza's expedition. He now turned to the country of the Cajuenches where he was heartily welcomed. After instructing them through the interpreters on the truths of religion, he explained his pictures. That of Our Lady pleased the people exceedingly, but at sight of the condemned soul they showed such horror that they would not look at it again. When Fr. Garcés visited this tribe in 1771, (1) he found their land uncultivated, but now it was covered with vegetation and fruits. He inquired into the cause of this change, and was told that, since he had seen them last, they had lived in peace with the Yumas, and that therefore everything had prospered among them. For this reason they showed particular affection for the missionary, and offered him so many things that, he declared, there was a veritable confusion of melons, corn, bread, atoles of seeds, and fishes. Every day the crowd of hearers increased. He also instructed and baptized an Indian who had received an arrow wound from which he died a few hours after.

Fr. Garcés had determined to visit the Cucapas who resided near the mouth of the Colorado; but as these were hostile to the Cajuenches, the latter intimidated the interpreters so that they refused to accompany him. He then visited the Tallicuamais who received him with much pleasure. He observed that these Indians were much cleaner than the Yumas or Cajuenches. After conversing with them as well as he could on the subjects dear to his heart, he exhibited the pictures with the same result as among the members of other tribes. He then resolved to cross the river to find the Cucapas, but on being informed that the whole country was deserted on account

(1) Arrievita, 420; 454; See page 56 this work

of the incursions of hostile Indians, he reluctantly returned to the country of the Cajuenches.

From there Fr. Francisco, accompanied only by the Indian named Sebastian, proceeded to the lagoon of San Mateo, whose Indians helped him reach the other bank of the river where the territory of their enemies, the Cucapas, began. The land lay waste, indeed, as it had been the battle ground where Yumas, Cajuenches, and Tallicuamais had fought against the Cucapas (Cocopas).

Next day he met some Cucapa Indians who had expected him. They led the missionary to their rancherías where he was kindly received. An old Indian offered his hut to the Father, who, availing himself of an old Pima woman for an interpreter, began at once to instruct his hearers regarding the benefits of peace with other tribes. They readily admitted his arguments. Unfortunately Fr. Garcés had left his pictures at the camp of the Cajuenches; instead of these he showed the poor Cucapas his breviary and the crucifix which they kissed reverently.

Proceeding he passed through several rancherías, and then found himself in a sandy desert without fresh water. After wandering about for some time, he luckily met with some Indians who in 1771 had assisted him to cross the river. They led him to their rancherías where he was hospitably entertained. In return the missionary instructed them in the truths of religion. They kindly showed him the way to the mouth of the Colorado, where he passed a night. Leaving the Cucapas he visited the camps of the Serranos, to whom in a former visit he had applied the name Danzarines. Fr. Garcés now followed the course of the river upward and arrived at the Puerto de la Concepcion on the 3d of January, received by the Yumas with shouts of joy. During those 28 days of travel the Father had seen and instructed about 3,000 Cajuenches, 2,000 Tallicuamais, and 3,000 Cuca-

pas, who all had manifested a desire to have missionaries in their territories.

Fr. Garcés was much pleased with the solicitude of Chief Palma and his Indians for Fr. Tomás Eyzarch. They had provided him with everything, as though they were members of a mission long established. He was still more surprised to hear the boys sing religious hymns taught them by Fr. Tomás. Many of the older Indians also attended Holy Mass, attracted by the example of Chief Palma, who assisted with much lively devotion, striking his breast and blessing himself as though he were a real Christian, and not the unbaptized head of a pagan tribe. Fr. Tomás had employed his time well. The Yavipais and Cocomarcopas now reported that the Rio Gila had begun to rise, wherefore the two Fathers moved their residence from Palma's ranchería to a small elevation of land which they called Puerto, or Portezuelo de Concepcion, the site, as already stated, of the modern Fort Yuma, California. They also examined the ranchería, or *puerto*, of San Pablo down the river, and pronounced it a suitable site for a mission. Here Indians flocked together from different tribes, entreating the Fathers to come and reside with their people.

At this time an Indian of the Quemaya (Quemayab) tribe brought the news that two or three nations had attacked the Spaniards on the coast, killed the missionary, and burnt the pueblo. (2) Fr. Garcés paid little attention to this story, for he had not heard of the murder of Fr. Luis Jaime which had occurred three months before; yet he lost no opportunity to insist on the necessity of maintaining the most friendly relations with the Indian tribes.

The Yavipais Telhuas, indomitable Apaches, also visited the Fathers. Fr. Garcés endeavored to have

(2) See "Franciscans in California, 222-226."

them make peace with their neighbors, a matter which he was constantly urging upon the natives for their own sake. The Apaches replied that they would return to their people and let him know the result. The Jalchedunes were now eagerly requesting the Father to go to their country. He consented on condition that they led him to the camps of the Jamajabs (Yamajab), as the Mojaves were originally called. This they declined to do, because they were not on friendly terms with the Jamajabs. A Jamajab, however, happened to be at Yuma; under his guidance the indefatigable traveller and peacemaker resolved to visit that tribe in company of the Indian Sebastian and two interpreters.

On the 14th of February, 1776, he took leave of Fr. Tomás and started up the west side of the Rio Colorado. After eight days of rough toil they encountered about 800 Jamajab Indians who were on their way down to the Yuma country to see the missionaries, and profit by the peace that had been brought about there.

Two captive Jalchedune girls were reluctantly released at the request of Fr. Garcés, but not until a horse and other things had been offered in return. Four days after, in company of the Jamajab chief and some of his men, he reached a current of water whence he turned in the direction of the Jalchedune territory. The two women with the old interpreter were sent ahead to their people, and the latter notified that the Jamajabs were their enemies no longer, and that war should cease. On receiving this message the chief of the Jalchedunes made a speech, and, in order to emphasize the fact that there was peace, he broke his bow and arrows.

On descending a sierra 400 Chemevet Indians were seen who received the Father very kindly. They inhabited the banks of the Colorado down to the Yuma country, but spoke a dialect of their own. Going

onward for three days, Fr. Garcés arrived at the rancherías of the Jamajabs, or rather opposite, for they lived on the east of the river, between what are now the Needles and Fort Mojave. (3) During his short stay 2,000 natives came across the Colorado to see the first white man that had ever been in that region. The zealous missionary, according to his custom, addressed all on the principal points of faith, and especially urged them to live in peace with other Indians, which was his favorite subject. Thereupon they earnestly asked him to make his home with them and to baptize them; for they seemed to comprehend that by this means everything good would come to them. Fr. Garcés was very favorably impressed with their manners, for he writes in his diary: "I can say with truth that these Indians are superior to the Yumas and the other tribes which I have so far seen on the Colorado; they are less troublesome, and they do not steal. As I am the first Spaniard who entered their country, they made much of this event." It was impossible for Fr. Garcés to get away as soon as he desired, because of the crowds of Indians that came to see him. Three chiefs also wanted to become acquainted with the Father, and the principal one of these was so pleased with the missionary that he declared none of his followers should do anything against the priest's wishes; he urged Fr. Garcés to say what should be done. The

(3) This being the first exploration of most of this region, or of all west of the river, the route is here given in full. Puerto de la Concepción, 6.5 l. n. w.; 2 l. w. n. w. through pass in Sierra de S. Pablo to S. Marcelo watering-place; 5 l. n. w. in sight of Cabeza del Gigante in the east, Grande Medanal, and vicinity of S. Sabastian, passing near Peñon de la Campana; 8 l. n. and n. n. w. through pass in the sierra on north of the Medanal to San José watering-place 33 degrees and 28 minutes; 3.5 l. n. n. w. and e. n. e. across sierra to a valley; 6 l. n. n. w. and e. n. e.; 6 l. e. n. e. and n. into Sierra of Santa Margarita to banks of Colorado, across valley to watering-place in 33 degrees 25 minutes; 1.5 l. w.; 6 or 11 l. n. w. and w. n. w. to Tinajas del Tezquien, one day's journey from river; 8 l. (or 6 l.) n. n. w. and n. across a sierra, to Santo Angel springs 34 degrees and 31 minutes (in Chemehueves country); 6 l. n. e. and n. w.; 7 l. n. n. e. across a sierra to Yamayab nation, whose rancherías, La Pasion, were across the river. (Bancroft, Hist. Cal. I, 275.)

latter then spoke about the truths of the Gospel to the great satisfaction of the chief.

Fr. Garcés now expressed a desire to visit the missionaries on the coast of California. Some of the Indians at once offered to guide him, as they knew the road quite well. Leaving most of his not bulky effects and one of his interpreters behind, he set out for the west with Sebastian and the head chief of the Jamajabs until the ranch of the chief was reached. The chief of the Chemevet Indians awaited him there for the purpose of seeing and hearing the Father. To gratify the Indians Fr. Garcés spoke on his favorite theme: the knowledge of divine truths and peace among the tribes. Next day with a few Jamajabs he continued his march over very rough roads, suffering a great deal from rain and cold for twelve days. Their provisions then gave out so that the little party was compelled to slaughter a horse, and to subsist on this until some settlement of people could be found. As the cold was intense, and his two Indian guides were naked, except for a breech cloth, Fr. Garcés gave his own tunic to one and the blanket to the other. After four days more of toilsome travelling they found themselves at the first ranchería of the Beñeme Indians, where they were received most hospitably. At the ranch of the chief, a league distant farther onward, Fr. Garcés met with a hearty welcome from the chief and his two wives. Several rancherías were visited, in all of which the missionary experienced kind treatment. Five days later the wanderer was heartily welcomed by his brethren at San Gabriel. Fr. Garcés had been at this mission establishment with Anza in 1774, finding it "muy adelantada en lo spiritual y temporal," and remained for over two weeks.

On leaving the Jamajabs on the Colorado Fr. Garcés had intended to proceed directly to San Luis Obispo, in order to ascertain whether or not communi-

tation could be maintained overland between Sonora, Monterey, Calif., and New Mexico, as the viceroy hoped; but the Jamajab guides refused to pass with him through the territory of their enemies. He then determined to go up to San Luis Obispo by the highway, and thence to return eastward across the tulares to the Colorado. On applying to the corporal of the mission guard for an escort and supplies for the trip, he was refused. Rivera, to whom he appealed at San Diego, also refused to allow the favor. The commandant soon arrived, however, on his way to Monterey, and a discussion followed, which finally elicited from Rivera, after various excuses, the declaration that he had no orders from the viceroy to grant what Fr. Garcés asked; that he did not wish any communication between the natives of the Colorado and those of the missions; and that he had already taken steps to prevent it by ordering the arrest of eastern Indians who came to the missions to trade.

Fr. Garcés was not pleased with the measures taken by Rivera, because they would only serve to excite the Indians against the white people. Nor could the killing of the missionary and the destruction of mission San Diego, be a sufficient reason for unfriendliness towards the innocent Colorado Indians, since Fr. Junípero himself had interceded with the viceroy for the very perpetrators of the crime. After all, Fr. Arricivita justly remarks, that uprising of the Indians, like others, was due to the outrages suffered by them at the hands of the soldiers, and especially deserters. The Fathers at San Gabriel, however, supplied the traveller with provisions which enabled him to carry out his plans partially, though he did not venture along the Channel shores. (4)

Leaving San Gabriel on the 9th of April, Fr. Garcés travelled for five days to a *cieneya* or marsh.

(4) Arricivita, 472-474; Bancroft, Hist. Cal. I, 274-276.

Here one of his Jamajab guides fell sick; the Father therefore remained with him, and nursed and instructed him until the Indian was able to travel ten days later. Meanwhile the zealous missionary employed his time in visiting the surrounding rancherías. In one of them he discovered a sick old man who happened to be the father of the Jamajab chief. After instructing him through Sebastian, Fr. Garcés baptized him. A number of Beñames, together with five Jamajabs, came to the ranchería and invited the Father to visit their people. He therefore accompanied them over a sierra, when the sick guide had recovered, and was hospitably entertained by the Beñames. After instructing them on the principal points of faith, Fr. Garcés proceeded on his way to the tribe of the Cuabajais. As one of the Jamajab guides wore the Father's tunic and the other was covered with the blanket, they were at first taken for Spaniards. They were asked whether the missionary belonged to the east or the west. When the Cuabajais learned that the Father came from the east, they dropped their suspicions and reserve; and hastily recalling the children, who had concealed themselves in the mountains for fear of the Spaniards, they gladly listened to what the white man had to say. Thus the very missionaries had fallen into bad repute with the natives on account of what they had seen of the soldiers, and particularly the deserters. The Cuabajais also reverently kissed the Father's crucifix. At nightfall Fr. Garcés recited the rosary with Sebastian and the two Jamajabs, who by this time had learned the Ave Maria. Whilst these prayers were said all dancing and noisy plays of the Indians ceased.

On the following day the chief accompanied the Father to the next ranchería, but he would not go farther, nor would his guides proceed, because they and the Indians in that direction, called Noches, were

not on friendly terms with one another. Finally Fr. Garcés discovered a Noche Indian who was married to a Cuabajais woman. With this Indian he set out and wandered north until he came to a wide river through which an Indian carried him. At one of the rancherías Fr. Garcés passed the night. The next day he found a dying child which he baptized. Here some Noches Indians invited him to their camps which lay east; but, as he had promised Sebastian to return after four days, he had to decline the invitation lest his guides believe him killed. He was also informed of the murder of two soldiers, probably Spanish deserters, because they had outraged Indian women.

In one ranchería a chief told the missionary about a Spaniard, probably a deserter, who was married to an Indian woman of the Noches Colteches. Two Indians now led him to the top of a hill, and, after pointing out the road to a ranchería and a river, they deserted him. He thereupon placed himself in the hands of Divine Providence, but when night came on he found himself on the brink of a precipice. Though he discovered a footpath, his mule could not travel on it. In this affliction the poor Father had recourse to prayer, and after some time approached a river along which he walked most of the night, when he suddenly met four Indians who took him to their ranchería where he was received with much pleasure. From here he continued and, after crossing a river, came to the San Felipe. At all the rancherías he was hospitably entertained.

Accompanied by three Cuabajais Indians, Fr. Garcés now traversed fertile plains, and reached the Cuabajais camps which were in festival array. They danced and sang all night and the following day. One of the Jamajabs arrived here with two mules, in order to bring the Father back to the place where he had left Sebastian. Thence he was led to the

country of the Chemevet and Cuajala, who in turn brought him to the Cobaji. Only women and children were at the latter camp; the men were out hunting. After wandering about for fifteen days Fr. Garcés reached the Jamajabs. "It is difficult to describe the joy manifested by this tribe," says Fr. Garcés, "to see me again in their country. They notified the Tehua Yavipais, the Jaguallapais, the Chemevets, and the Jalchedunes of my arrival, in order that in my presence they might celebrate the peace among them; and to that end they told me it was necessary to detain me eight days, although they knew that I had received letters from the commander of the expedition, and from my companion Fr. Tomás, wherein they urged me to return at once to the Yumas. The crowds were so large, however, and the good spirit manifested by these Indians so sincere, that I feared to leave them. They ratified the general peace among the tribes with much satisfaction to themselves and pleasure to me." (5)

(5) Arrievita, 468-478. The full route over a country which Fr. Garcés was the first, as also for many years the last, to traverse is worth recording as follows: Three leagues n. w. to rancherías of Santa Isabel; 3 l. n. w. and e. n. w. (?) to San Pedro de los Yamajabs in 35 degrees and one minute, still near the river; 2½ l. southwest to San Casimiro wells; 8 l. w. ¼ l. w. s. w. to wells; 5 l. w., 3 l. w. s. w. to Sierra de Santa Coleta; 4 l. n. w. across sierra (Providence Mts.) to Cañada de Santo Tomás; 6 l. w. s. w. to wells of San Juan de Diós, where the country of the Beñame's begins; 5 l. to Pinta Pass and Arroyo de los Mártires (Rio Mojave); 12½ l. w. s. w. on same stream; 2 l. w. n. w., and 2 l. s. w. and s. to 34 degrees and 37 minutes; 5 l. s. w. up the stream; 8½ l. up the stream; 3 l. s. w. and s. to San Benito ranchería; 3 l. s. s. w. across sierra (Cajon Pass?) in sight of sea, and 3 l. e. s. e. to Arroyo de los Alisos; 2½ l. w. s. w. into Anza's trail, and 8 l. w. n. w.; 2 l. w. n. w. to San Gabriel. At San Gabriel Fr. Garcés on April 6th baptized an Indian of 20 years named Miguel Garcés; Sergeant Grijalva was godfather.

Leaving San Gabriel on the 9th of April Fr. Garcés travelled as follows: 1½ l. n. w. and w. n. w.; 5½ l. n. w. at foot of sierra; 2½ l. n. w. to ranchería in vicinity of San Fernando mission; 2 l. n. to Santa Clara Valley and 1½ l. w. n. w. to a ciénega or marsh; 9 l. w. and n. across the Sierra Grande; ½ l. n. e. to a lake where Fages had been, possibly Elisabeth Lake; 5 l. across valley to Sierra de San Marcos; 2½ l. n. and 3½ l. w. across the Sierra to San Pascual ranchería of the Cuabajai nation in the edge of Tulare Valley; 1½ l. w. n. w. to ranchería in degree 35 and 9 minutes; 8 l. n. to Arroyo de Santa Catarina in the country of the Noches; one l. n. w. to a great river San Felipe flowing with rapid current from eastern

CHAPTER IX.

FR. FRANCISCO GARCÉS AND HIS TRIP TO MOQUI—HIS RECEPTION—HE RETURNS TO SAN XAVIER DEL BAC.

While Fr. Garcés succeeded in moving the different tribes along the Colorado and Gila to make peace among themselves, he learned from the Gualapais the distance to the Moqui villages and the missions in New Mexico. Though he had received Anza's letter, and had started down the river, he changed his mind and decided to visit the Moqui towns. The interpreters who had followed the missionary thus far had returned to their people; and Sebastian was told to wait for him among the Jalchedunes. Fr. Garcés then set out from the Mojave region on the 4th of June, 1776. "This journey," says Bancroft, "as the second [through this region, and the first of which we have a detailed account, is a most interesting and important one, to which nothing like justice can be done in the appended resumé of the diary, which, however, as a record cannot be omitted." (1)

mountains, possibly Kern River above Bakersfield, and 3 l. n. w. and n. to smaller stream Santiago (Posa Creek?); 4½ l. n.; 2½ l. n. to River Santa Cruz (White River?); one l. e. to a rancharía. Back to San Miguel at junction of two branches of River San Felipe; back to San Pascual rancharía; 2 l. e. and n. e. in the sierra to lagoon of San Venancio; 3½ l. n. w. and s. e.; 1½ l. s. e. to Arroyo de la Asuncion; 6½ l. s. s. w. out of the mountains and over the plains; 7 l. s. e. w. to Rio Mártires at old station in 34 degrees and 37 minutes; back to San Juan de Diós by the old route; 2 l. e. n. e. to Médano; 4½ l. e. s. e. across Sierra of Santa Coleta; 3 l. e. n. e. to well of San Felipe Neri; 5 l. n. e.; 1.5 n. e. to Trinidad; 1.5 l. n. e.; 0 l. e. and s. e. to San Casimiro; 2 l. e. s. w. to starting point. (Banc. Hist. Cal. I: 276-277.) (1) See end of this chapter.

The starting-point was probably in the region of the later Fort Mojave, or latitude 35 degrees. The winding and complicated route corresponded in a general sense with that of Oñate in 1604-1605, and the line of the modern Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. After travelling four days Fr. Garcés reached the rancherías of the Juallapais (Juaguapais), where a hut had already been prepared for him.

They listened attentively to his instructions and kissed the crucifix, and had the children do the same. On hearing that he wished to go to the Moquis, they made every effort to change his mind, nor would any one show him the road. Finally a Jamajab Indian consented to take him to the Yavipais where he was invited to remain. The next day a great many Indians arrived in groups of four, six, and eight men to see the stranger.

Thence a married couple and another Indian, who claimed to be from Moqui, offered to accompany the Father. The ranchería of the single Indian was gained on the third day. Fr. Garcés lost no time, but as usual spoke of God and the delights of heaven, to which all listened with much interest. The children, like the adults, kissed the crucifix which passed from hand to hand. Every Indian in the place was brought to the missionary, the blind, the infirm, and the crippled, that he might lay his hand upon them and pray over them. The wondering traveller in vain tried to ascertain where they had learned this beautiful custom. He met with the same experience among the Yavipais. Fr. Garcés entered the latter's territory over a very rough road, and was heartily welcomed. They succeeded in detaining him for five days.

In the company of five Indians he left this friendly tribe, and arrived at the camp of the Jabesua Indians, after an exceedingly toilsome march through the mountains. There the amazed explorer beheld

the deep gorges through which the Colorado wends its way; a pass in the sierra he named after Viceroy Bucareli. Proceeding with three Indian families that were on the road to another ranchería, Fr. Garcés reached the Rio Jaquesila. They crossed it and, after indescribable hardships, arrived at a Yavipais ranchería. Two Moqui Indians made their appearance here. One of them kissed the hand of the missionary, but declined to accept either tobacco or anything else. The other would not so much as kiss the crucifix offered him by the Yavipais.

On the following day, guided by some Yavipais, the traveller crossed the Rio Jaquesila, and passed through a ruined pueblo of the Moqui. He was now twelve leagues from the Moqui town of Muca or O-raybe. On approaching to within three leagues of the pueblo, he met a Moqui youth who would not accept the tobacco offered him. This was a most suspicious sign that he would not be well received; but nothing daunted the Father proceeded to within two leagues of Muca, when he encountered two well-dressed Indians on horseback. They refused to shake hands with him, and moreover by signs gave him to understand that he should turn back. The Yavipais guides endeavored to explain the missionary's intention, but the Moquis would not listen, so that his companions advised him not to continue in that direction. Fr. Garcés, then, determined to proceed alone, as he knew the Moqui village must be near. The six Yavipais Indians, therefore deserted him, and only one old man with a boy followed the Father to the mesa or table land on which the town stood. The elevation from which the pueblo rose was very rough and steep, but after climbing the zigzag course upwards, he almost suddenly found himself inside the pueblo. From the entrance a narrow lane ran through the town and was crossed by others just as narrow. There were two small plazas.

As soon as the Father with his two Indians entered the pueblo, a great crowd of women and children gathered on the roofs of the terrace-like buildings to gaze at the strange white man. Fr. Garcés followed the guides to the house of a woman acquainted with his companions. The two Yavipais saluted her from below; whereupon she invited them into her home, but declined to admit the missionary. The weary traveller then retired to a corner of the lane and prepared to settle down with his mule. All day long men, women, and children would come to look at the priest, but no one would speak; nor would they accept the white beads of which they are very fond.

The old Yavipais told the Father that the Moquis did not want him there; nevertheless Fr. Garcés kindled a fire and prepared a meal consisting of *atole de pinole*, (cake of ground corn or barley), which he had fortunately brought along. This was his only nourishment in a town well provided with everything. Towards night an old Indian drew near and kissed the crucifix. After receiving some tobacco and beads he said to the Father: "God repay you." Soon after a young Indian approached and said in Spanish: "Father, these are Chichimecos, and they do not want to be baptized; nor do they believe you are a priest; but I recognize you, for I am baptized and a Zuñi. You may come to our people along with the three of us, and to-morrow before noon we shall reach a pueblo, and the day after we shall come to the mission of Acoma.

Fr. Garcés would not promise this, but asked for the chief of the town, when it was found that the latter had concealed himself. The missionary then asked the Zuñi to inform the people that he had come for no other purpose than to speak to them of God. This the Indian did in vain; no one would listen. The kindhearted Zuñi now invited the Father to

his own stopping place, but Fr. Garcés declined, because the mistress of the house had not invited him.

When night set in, the villagers huddled together on the roofs and made an almost intolerable noise with flutes, songs, and shouts. After awhile this ceased, when some one in a sharp voice made a long speech. Then the hideous music would continue for awhile to be interrupted by another long-winded speaker with a hoarse voice. This was kept up until near the dawn of morning. In the afternoon the Yavipais Indians visited the missionary in his corner. On learning that he might go to the Zuñis, they refused to accompany him. Fr. Garcés offered them some beads with which to purchase corn meal. They would not accept the beads, and the two younger ones even threw away those he had given them before.

At daybreak of the second day the Zuñis again came to invite the Father to their town; but he informed them that, as the Yavipais refused to accompany him for fear of the Moquis, he would have to refrain from going to Zuñi. He asked them to take a letter to their missionary in which he had described his experience at Moqui. Some time after the old Yavipai approached Fr. Garcés with one of the Moqui chiefs. The latter requested him to visit other villages, where he would get something to eat, as he was not wanted there. Thereupon the poor messenger of peace mounted his mule, and accompanied by the two Yavipais proceeded to leave the inhospitable pueblo. The Yavipais soon deserted him, and when, on ascending a height similar to that on which Muca was situated, he noticed that every Indian fled from him, he suspected some foul designs. He therefore resolved to return the three leagues he had come in order to find the Yavipais. A little before nightfall the intrepid explorer once more entered the village before the eyes of the amazed pop-

ulace. He soon found the little recess in which he had passed the previous night; but again received no invitation nor favor of any kind. He was then convinced that every one must have received orders from the chief not to offer food or hospitality to the unwelcome stranger, and that this command was being carried out to the letter.

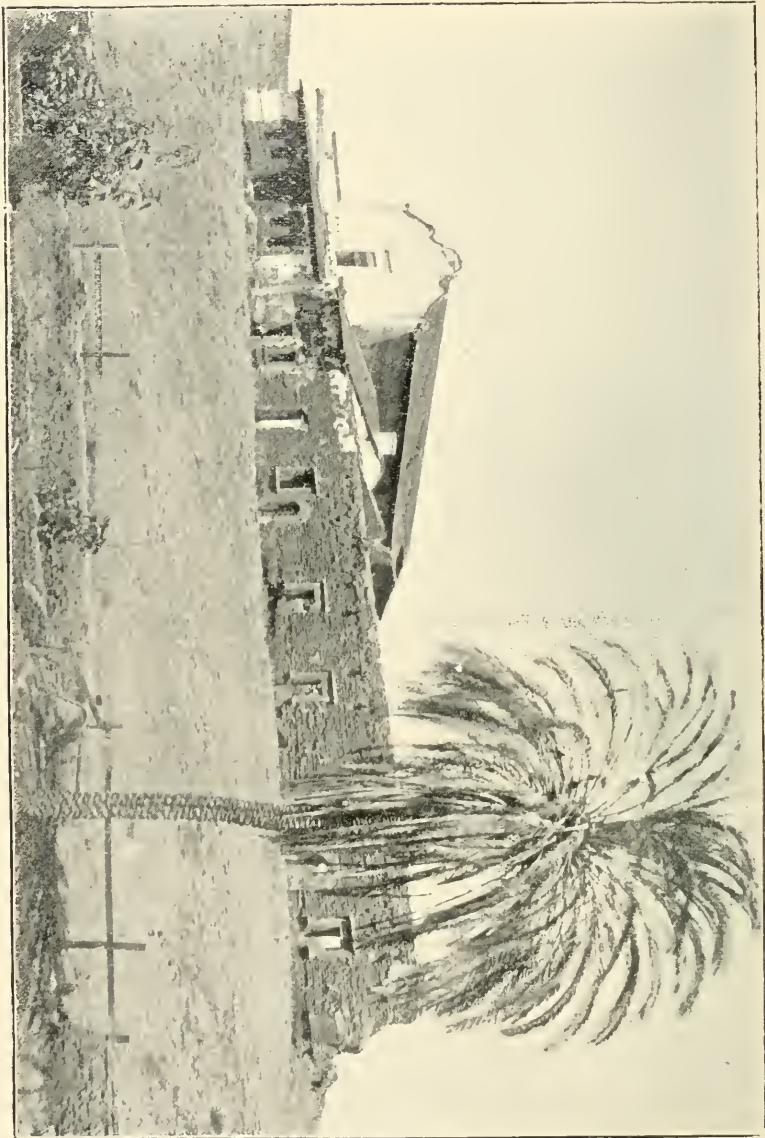
One of the Yavipais now approached and without a word led away the missionary's mule. At the dawn of the third day Fr. Garcés heard singing and dancing along the narrow lanes, and noticed Indians, their hair adorned with feathers, moving hither and thither, shouting and whistling. At sunrise a great crowd of people, in festive array, gathered in the plazas and when the multitude drew nigh he concluded that they intended to take his life. Grasping his crucifix more firmly, and recommending himself to God, he prepared to suffer death. Four chiefs approached him, and one of them said: "Why did you come here? You cannot remain in this place; go back to your country." Fr. Garcés replied by making a sign requesting silence; but they would not listen. Thereupon the intrepid missionary "raised the crucifix, and in a fiery speech, mixing Yuma, Yavipais, and Spanish words, illustrated by means of signs, he told them of the tribes he had visited; that all had kissed the crucifix; that not one had treated him badly; that for the love he bore towards the Moquis he had come to speak to them of the one God in heaven, and of the Lord Jesus Christ who in His goodness had allowed Himself to be crucified for their welfare." When the Father had finished, an old Indian shouted in Spanish, "No, No." Thereupon Fr. Garcés asked for his mule, and started off surrounded by the multitude until he was outside the pueblo.

The weary wanderer commenced the march under the most disheartening circumstances; for, not only

was he unacquainted with the country, but hunger made itself keenly felt. Two Moquis whom he met showed themselves less unfriendly, but they would accept neither beads nor tobacco; he was treated in like manner by every Moqui he addressed on the road. He continued to wander about; and once found himself in a place from which he could not find an outlet. There he was discovered by the Yavipais who had deserted him at the Moqui village. They requested him to make haste, as they had seen the smoke by which means the Yavipais Tehua called their men to war.

Happily the Father soon arrived at the ranchería of an old Yavipais whose family showed much sympathy for the traveller, on account of the treatment he had received at the hands of the Moquis. They slaughtered a pair of cattle and entertained him most hospitably. Moreover they urged him to remain with them for at least six days, because, as they said, he must have suffered exceedingly from hunger. However, Fr. Garcés soon again started out to ascend a sierra, and four days later came to a ranchería of the Jabesua where he was received with indescribable joy. They succeeded in keeping him for six days, during which time he enlightened them on the truths of religion. They were particularly delighted to hear the missionary sing the litany. To please these simple people, at the name of St. Anthony he would sing: Saint Anthony of the Jabesua; and at the name St. Peter, he would sing: Saint Peter of the Yavipais, etc., which little device produced much good feeling.

Accompanied by two of the chief Jabesuas, Fr. Garcés left these good people, and three days after was found by four Yavipais who had been ordered by their chief to search for him. The next day he reached a ranchería where he remained a day to satisfy their eagerness for his presence. For the same



MISSION SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

reason he passed two days at another ranchería, and then hastened to the country of the Jamajabs on the Colorado. His appearance was the signal for extraordinary rejoicings, for they were under the impression that the missionary had been murdered by the Moquis. With Fr. Garcés some Yavipais, Jabe-suas, and the chief of the Cuereomaches also arrived.

Proceeding on his way the traveller visited several rancherías; at one of them, called La Pasion, he was detained for two days. There he was informed that peace existed between the Yavipais Tejuas and the Cocomaricopas, and that he could reach his mission in four or five days without having to go around through the Yuma territory. Having learned, however, that the Yumas had killed three Jalchedunes, and that in consequence a very bitter feeling existed between the two tribes, the peacemaker determined to undergo the additional hardships of visiting the Yumas, in order to bring about a reconciliation. Moreover, he wished to ascertain their present disposition towards Christian Doctrine and fealty to the king of Spain.

Before leaving he had the consolation of baptizing a dying girl and three very sick old men. At another ranchería a Yavipais Tejua, or Apache Indian, had waited for the Father for some time, but had gone away in despair. He had been sent by his chief to invite the missionary to the Apache country. Eleven days after Fr. Garcés found himself among the Jalchedunes, where he remained the welcome guest for two days. Three days later the Indians helped him cross the Colorado on a raft to the California side. At one ranchería some of his things were stolen. On notifying the chief men search was made and everything recovered, though the thieves had already reduced the cloak to pieces. After seven days of marching Fr. Garcés arrived at the last ranchería of the Jalchedunes. There he also met the

Yumas, and had the pleasure of seeing peace reestablished between the two tribes.—It was shown that the three Jalchedunes had been killed for attempting to steal some horses.

Continuing on the road for two days, he recrossed the Colorado twelve leagues above the Port of Concepcion, or mouth of the Gila. The Yumas, too, had bewailed him for dead. During his several days' stay Fr. Garcés explained the divine mysteries, and particularly urged upon his hearers the necessity of preserving peace among the tribes. The Indians listened to the instructions attentively, and begged the missionary to remain with them always. It was with regret that he parted from them. He crossed the river and in time entered the country of the Cocomaricopas. Among them also he pleaded for peace with the surrounding tribes. From there the indefatigable traveller passed to the Opas and the Pimas on the Gila, accompanied by the chief of the Cocomaricopas. Everywhere the natives were delighted to find that the rumor regarding the Father's death was false.

Among the Pimas Fr. Garcés noticed that some Indians were suffering from the effects of strong drink. Their chief by way of excuse said it occurred but rarely. The Father was much pleased to learn that no woman had forgotten herself in this matter. (2)

(2) Arrievita, p. 478-484; Banc. Hist. Arizona, 394-395. The route to Miqui was as follows: June 4th, (10th day's journey), 2 leagues n. w. up the Colorado to a place in latitude 31 degrees and one minute; 5th, one l. n., $\frac{1}{2}$ l. south, 3 l. e. n. e.; 6th, e. n. e. over Sierra de Santiago, 1.5 l. e. s. e. to Aguage de San Pacifico, 2 l. s. s. e., one l. e.; 7th, 4 l. e. to the Jaquallapais (Hualapais), on a little stream; 8th, 3.5 l. n. e. by the skirt of the Sierra Morena, 2.5 l. n. e. to a ranchería; 9th, 5 l. e. to Arroyo de S. Bernabé, one l. on the stream to with two pozos, in sight of a valley near a river, 4 l. to a ranchería of the Cueromaches; 25th, 2 l. s. w. to Sierra of Santiago, w. to Aguage de Sta Ana, 1.5 l. n. w. to Rio Colorado, 2 l. south down the river to Punta de los Jamajabs; 26th, 2.5 l. s. down the river to ranchería of S. Pedro; 27th, one l. s. to another ranchería; 28th, 3 l. s. e. to ranchería de la Pasion; 31st, 2 l. s. s. w. to ranchería.

August 1st, 2 l. s. to Sierra de S. Idefonso, at end of the Jamajab country, a good place for two missions; 2d to 5th, down the river south 14 l. to Rio Santa Maria (now Bill Williams Fork); 6-8th, 14 leagues s. to

At last the famous missionary reached San Xavier del Bac on September 17, 1776, after an absence of eleven months minus four days. He had travelled about one thousand leagues; had visited nine tribes; and had met with 25,000 souls since leaving his mission on October 21, 1775.

an abandoned ranchería, where many Indians soon gathered and new guides were obtained; 15th, up the arroyo n. e. and n. past Pozos de S. Basilio to a ranchería, 4.5; 16th, 4 l. n. e. and n. over pine hills, 5 l. n. to a sierra of red earth, said to be near the Colorado, deep cajones; 17th, 2.5 l. n. e. over a rough sierra to a ranchería, where there was a junta of Indians and much festivity. From here he might have gone more directly to Moqui, but turned off to see more people; 19th, one l. e. to Pozo de la Rosa, 2 l. n.; 20th, 5 l. e., 2 l. n. e., over a bad wooded country, with deep cañons, to a ranchería on the Río Cabezua, or Jabezua, named S. Antonio, through a deep cañon pass. Here were a few cattle and horses from Moqui, also iron implements. This seemed the largest river of the Yavipais. The river runs w., n. w., and n. into the Colorado near by; water used for irrigation; 25th, 2 l. s. to summit of a sierra, 3 l. s. e. and n., through forest, to a Cabazua ranchería; 26th, 4 l. s. e. and s. to a place in sight of the gorges, through which flows the Colorado, through a cut in the blue sierra named Bucareli Pass, towards the e. n. e., but difficult to reach; also saw in the north smoke of the Payuchas north of the river. From the sierra stretching west the Río Asuncion is thought to rise, 4 l. s. e. to a pinal; 27th, 4 l. s. e. and e.; 28th, 3.5 l. southeast, south, and east to Río Jaquevila, or S. Pedro, which runs w. n. w. into the Colorado a little above the Puerto de Bucareli, through a deep cañon cut in living rock, 8 l. n. by another cajon to a ranchería of Yavipais, where two Moquis were seen.

July 1st, 1.5 e. s. e. to a river that seemed to be the S. Pedro de Jaquesua, and a ruined pueblo said to be of the Moquis, 6 l. across treeless plains; 2d, 3 l. e. s. e., 3 l. e. and s. to the Moqui town of Oraive, called by the Yavipais Muca; 3d, 3 l. toward another pueblo, but returned; 4th, started on return, 12 l. e. n. w. to Río S. Pedro Jaquecila. The names of the Moqui towns in Yavipais language are SesePaulabá, Masaqueve, Janogualpa, Muqui, Coneabe, and Muca, called Oraive by the Zuñis; 5th, 1.5 l. e. n. w. to Yavipais ranchería; heard of the Guamua, Guañavepe, Gualliba, and Aguachacha, also different tribes of the Yavipais, including the Yavipais Tejua in the sierras of the Río Asuncion; also on the Colorado the Yutas, Chemeguabas, Payuchas, Japul, Gualta, and Baquiyoba, perhaps rancherías of one nation; 6th, 4 l. s. w. to Río S. Pedro again; 7th, 2 l. n. w. and w. to near a cave; 8th, over the sierra and past the Bajío, 4 l. w. and s. w. to Poza de Santa Isabel; 9th, 5 l. n. w., 3 l. e. n. w. to ranchería in the cajones of the Jabesua, staying six days; 15th, 5 l. w. and s. by the new Canfran, though the natives wished him to go by the Escalera route; 16th, 6 l. w. to Pozo de las Rosas; 17th, s. w. past Sierra de Pinales and S. Diego to Arroyo de S. Alejo at a Yavipais ranchería, leaving the former route; 18th, 1½ l. down the Arroyo n. w. over hills to valley of Lino with much wild flax, 3.5 l. w. to a ranchería; 19th, ½ l. n. to Agnaje de Sta Margarita, over the Sierra Morena, 2 l. w. to Pozo de Avispas into a valley 4 l. wide, and 4 l. more to a ranchería; 23d, 2 l. s. w. to a pozo and ranchería; 24th, up the sierra e. 2 l., one l. n. to ranchería

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE MISSIONS—INDIAN RAIDS—DESTRUCTION OF MISSION
SANTA MARIA MAGDALENA—MURDER OF FR. FELIPE GUILLEN.

Most lamentable was the state of the missions in Pimería Alta at this period. The Seri, Piatos, and Apaches continued to be as unruly as ever, and made every effort to move the mission Indians to withdraw from the guidance of the missionaries. This caused the Fathers no end of trouble. Not succeeding as they desired, the savages began to use force. Thus one day in November 1776, at eight in the morning, forty Seri, Piatos, and Apaches fell upon Mission Santa Maria Magdalena, and succeeded in destroying most of the buildings. The Father had just said Mass, and the women and children had finished the doctrina, or recitation of the catechism, when the savages appeared. Only four able-bodied men had been left behind to defend the village. The people hastily took refuge in the missionary's quarters and barricaded the doors. The leader of the enemy was an apostate by the name of Juan Cocinero. By means of a ladder he ascended to the roof of the adobe building, in which the priest and people had

of Jalchedunes, before named San Antonio; 11th, 2 l. w. s. w. to ranchería Sta Coleta near the river; 12th, 2½ l. s. w. to ranchería near Laguna de Trinidad; 14th, crossed the Colorado on a balsa to ranchería de Asuncion on the California side; 16th to 21st, 7 l. down river; 22d, recrossed the river and went one l. s., 23, 1½ l. s. to last ranchería of the Jalchedunes; 24th, 4 l. s. s. w.; 26th, crossed the river, s. w. to a great pool, 5 l. s.; 41 s. e. to Puerto de la Concepcion. Returned to San Xavier del Bac by the same route Anza's expedition had come, arriving Sept 17th. Fr. Garcés' Diary is dated Tubutama, January 30, 1777.

gathered, and set fire to the dry grass which covered the rafters. Then he proceeded to rob the church and vestry. In their diabolical fury the savages broke or desecrated everything they could not carry away, before departing with the vestments, altar vessels, etc. On the way they tore the leaves from the missal and scattered them to the winds. The cattle had meanwhile also been driven to the mountains. After a short time the savages returned to complete the destruction of the missionary's dwelling. The fire had reached the rooms in which the frightened women and children were huddled together; and they were on the point of perishing from suffocation. The enemies on the outside were endeavoring to batter down the doors with great stones, and succeeded in making an opening. The three Indian men within took advantage of this by discharging their arrows through the hole with such effect that the surprised assaulters discontinued their efforts for a while. The final result, however, was only a question of minutes. The good Father, therefore, exhorted all to make an act of fervent contrition, in order that he might give them absolution before perishing in the fire or at the hands of the Apaches. In this extremity relief came in the shape of a body of troops who drove the savages into the mountains. At the beginning of the attack one of the four men had escaped unseen to San Ignacio, two leagues distant. The soldiers had hastened to Santa Magdalena, and had just come in time to deliver a large number of women and children from a frightful death. One of the women had been mortally wounded, and another woman with two children had been carried away as captives by the Indians.

As the savages had been so successful in destroying and pillaging a mission without any loss to themselves, they resolved to attack Mission Saric eight days later. They found little resistance when

they fell upon the establishment in broad day light. One mission Indian was killed, and a number of others were wounded, whilst ten perished in the flames. An Indian woman was taken captive, but escaped to Cocóspera bringing the information that the savages planned the ruin of all the missions. At Sarie the majority of the dwellings were burned, oxen and cows driven away, and 200 of the smaller flock wantonly killed. Fortunately, the hostile Indians were not able to force open the church. As it was, it seemed a miracle that the entire settlement was not consumed by the flames. On returning, the Indians passed San Ignacio and drove away twenty head of cattle. Soon after thirty-five soldiers from the presidio appeared at the pueblo to punish the murderers; but, as usual, too late to overtake them.

The Fr. President of the missions now asked for troops to protect the other six establishments; but the commander replied that soldiers could not be sent until higher officers so ordered. The governor was then informed of the danger to which the missions were exposed; but that official did not even reply to the appeal. Thus the missionaries with their neophytes continued exposed all through the year 1777, and in consequence one of the Fathers became a victim to savage hatred in the year following.

In April 1778 the missionary of Tubutama, Fr. Felipe Guillen, went to the visita or station of Santa Teresa, in order to give his usual instructions and perform other priestly duties. After saying Mass, and finishing instructing the neophytes on the morning of the 27th, he returned to Mission Atí, two leagues distant. While going his way seven Indians, Seri or Apaches, fell upon the unsuspecting missionary, and one of them drove a lance into the breast of the priest, who fell mortally wounded from his horse and expired. The savages then hurried to Atí, and after killing four mission Indians fled to their haunts. The

body of the murdered Father was discovered by some Indians from Atí and brought to the mission. The neighboring missionaries were informed of the calamity and invited to the burial. This took place next day, after the Office and Requiem, in the presence of four Fathers and the Indians from Tubutama, Santa Teresa, Oquitoa, and Atí. (1)

However, neither perils nor hardships, says Arriçivita, terrified the apostolic men to whose charge the missions were intrusted. They continued, as well as possible, to keep the faith alive among the Indians, and even made some material progress; for they erected brick churches at Pitic, Tubutama, San Ignacio, San Xavier del Bac, Saric, and Tucson. Other church buildings were repaired and roofed, as at Tumacacori, Cocóspera, and Calabazas, or decorated and furnished with new vestments, altar vessels, etc. They also continually urged the neophytes to abandon their wild life, to erect dwellings of adobe in regular order, and roof them with more substantial material than grass, so that they might defend themselves more successfully. (2)

(1) Fr. Felipe Guillen, the second missionary from Querétaro, who suffered a violent death at the hands of pagan Indians, was a native, of Piles, Valencia, Spain. He received the habit of St. Francis in the province of Valencia. When the Fr. Commissary arrived from Querétaro to obtain recruits for the missions in Mexico, Fr. Felipe made application and was accepted. At the college of Querétaro he was known as one of the most exact and fervent observers of the Seraphic Rule. At his request he was sent to the Indian missions in Texas, and labored at Mission San Francisco for two years, when he was sent to Pimeria Alta. He was placed in charge of Mission San Pedro y Pablo, at Tubutama, eight leagues from the nearest mission. There Fr. Felipe worked with much zeal, giving instructions morning and evening, first in Spanish then in Indian. On these occasions he led in reciting the rosary, and would never be absent except for grave reasons. His kindness did not preserve him from savage fury. At the time of his death which occurred on April 27th, 1778. Fr. Felipe was 41 years of age, of which he had passed nine years in the apostolic ministry. For eight years he had labored among the natives. Arriçivita, 524-529. (2) Arriçivita, 485-489.

CHAPTER XI.

RECEPTION OF PALMA IN MEXICO—CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT—PROMISES TO PALMA—DE CROIX'S LETTERS—ORDERS OF THE KING—MISSIONS DELAYED—INDIANS AND FATHERS DISAPPOINTED—CHANGE IN THE PLANS—FATHERS GARCES AND DIAZ GO TO THE COLORADO—THE SITUATION ON THE COLORADO—FR. JUAN DIAZ VISITS DE CROIX AT ARIZPE.

When Don Anza arrived in Mexico to report on the result of his expedition to the Port of San Francisco, he was most graciously received by Viceroy Bucareli. His excellency only waited for the account of Fr. Garcés, in order to make proper arrangements for the founding of the proposed missions and the removal of the Buenavista and the Horcasitas presidios to the Colorado and Gila Rivers. The famous traveller completed his report in January 1777.

Meanwhile Chief Palma and his three companions, who had followed Don Anza to the capital, were presented to the viceroy and most kindly treated. Palma was so pleased with his reception that he petitioned his excellency for permission to be baptized. He also begged that missionaries be sent to instruct and make Christians of his people. The viceroy thereupon ordered Palma and his companions to be well instructed and to be baptized. Palma had given every proof of his sincerity and good will to Fr. Garcés from the latter's first appearance among the Yumas. Unfortunately, Palma was not the chief of his whole tribe, but the recognized head of only one band of Yumas. His friendship alone could not be depended upon to secure the safety of the missions.

At this stage the proposed missions on the Colorado again received a set-back: the original plan of

founding them under the protection of two presidios was abandoned, because of a change in the government. A new office was created, that of comandante general, and the affairs of the missions taken from the jurisdiction of the viceroy and placed into the hands of this official, who acted independently of the viceroy. The first comandante general was Don Teodoro De Croix. Inspector O'Conor was promoted to the governorship of Campeche, and Don Anza appointed governor of New Mexico: Thus the fate of the missions was in the hands of new men, who knew nothing of the circumstances.

However, the zealous viceroy was not willing that the Colorado establishments should fail of realization. He, therefore, earnestly recommended those missions to the Comandante General De Croix, whilst he acquainted him with all the plans and steps that had been taken to found them. De Croix, in consequence, treated Palma and companions with marked consideration. He promised to send missionaries and troops, and *other things* that caused the Fathers much annoyance later on, as Arriçivita remarks. Palma departed for home much pleased, because he did not doubt the promises would be kept.

Among the documents given him by the viceroy, De Croix also found a letter from Fr. Garcés; to this he made reply in March 1777. He acquainted the Father with the changes, and informed him that the comandante of Monterey had been ordered to treat the Colorado Indians kindly whenever they came to the coast missions; that the founding of the missions should not be delayed; and that the project of transferring the presidios of Buenavista and Horcasitas to the Colorado and Gila would be further considered. Fr. Garcés in turn forwarded a map, prepared by Fr. Font, of the region he had travelled to San Francisco and back to the Colorado, with a narrative of his visit to the Moquis. De Croix in another

er letter thanked the missionary, and said he hoped to visit that country in person, in order to execute the plans that had been formed to establish the missions. A severe illness, which detained the comandante general in Chihuahua, prevented further steps.

Meanwhile the king himself had seen a copy of Fr. Garcés' diaries and Chief Palma's memorial to the viceroy in which the latter asked for missionaries. His Majesty, thereupon, instructed De Croix to attend to Palma's wishes as the viceroy had done, and to have the missions and presidios established as proposed by Fr. Garcés. Had these instructions of the king been executed, the missions would have been placed on a firm basis, and paganism on the Gila and Colorado, like elsewhere, would have disappeared, instead of flourishing for more than a hundred years after. Viceroy Bucareli, moreover, in August of the same year 1777, was requested to thank the indefatigable missionary Fr. Garcés in the name of the king.

Fr. Garcés, like Fr. Junípero Serra in California, (1) soon discovered that his projects regarding the missions, for which he had travelled, labored, and suffered so much, would not be realized, despite the fine promises of the men in power. Nothing whatever was done, because De Croix lay sick in Chihuahua, and when he had recovered he did not find it convenient to visit Sonora. The Yumas waited for some sign of the Spaniards until March 1778, when Chief Palma journeyed to the presidio of Altar to ascertain the cause of the delay. The captain of the troops was not a little embarrassed how to satisfy the Indian. He endeavored to quiet Palma by saying that the comandante general was on a tour of inspection in the east, and that in due time he would reach the west when the proposed work would pro-

(1) See Franciscans in California, page 82.

ceed. Palma apparently satisfied returned to his people and waited patiently, trusting to the good faith of the white men.

He saw the time pass by, however, and the close of the year at hand, without finding any of the promises made to him in Mexico realized. His anxiety grew day by day, and his people began to ridicule him, and declare that he had been deceived; and that neither missionaries nor soldiers would ever settle on the Colorado. Palma, therefore, undertook another journey to Altar. He there explained the critical situation among his people, and his own awkward predicament in consequence of the failure of the Spaniards to keep their promises. Don Pedro Turos, the commander, at once reported the matter to Comandante General De Croix at Chihuahua.

The latter was now thoroughly aroused. Bound by orders from the king, and by the promises he himself had made to Palma at the Mexican capital, and understanding the chief's dilemma, De Croix resolved to have missionaries go to the Colorado immediately. Under date of Febr. 5th, 1779, he wrote to the Fr. President of the missions and to Fr. Garcés, urging them to take the matter in hand without delay.

The Fr. President resolved to send Fr. Garcés with another Religious to the Yuma country, and for this purpose invited Fr. Garcés and Fr. Juan Diaz to a conference with him. De Croix's wishes and the situation among the Indians were discussed, and it was decided that Fr. Diaz, who had accompanied Anza on the first expedition, should proceed to the Colorado with Fr. Garcés as soon as the secular authorities had furnished the necessary guards and supplies. The Fathers deemed it worse than useless, under the circumstances, to make an attempt at founding missions unless a strong guard and sufficient provisions had been supplied from the very beginning. These precau-

tions were more necessary on the Colorado than anywhere else; for the Indians had lost confidence in the good faith of the Spaniards, so that there was good reason to fear the new missions might share the fate of the mission at Pitiquí.

The comandante general was informed of the decision of the Fathers, whereupon he ordered the civil and military officers to furnish whatever was needed. Governor Pedro Corbalen readily agreed to procure the provisions; but Captain Ped. Tueros conceded a few soldiers with much reluctance, claiming that he had not enough good soldiers to defend the province.

Nevertheless, Fr. Garcés declared: "We must have confidence in God for whose sake we go; nor should we fear in this case what happened to the mission at Pitiquí. I am convinced that the king's charge will be carried out, and that soon a presidio will arise on the Colorado."

When Don Anza was consulted he also urged the necessity of missions on the Colorado, but at the same time declared that for the protection of the missions a garrison should be placed there consisting of a greater number of soldiers than usually are found at presidios. He did not approve of the transfer of the presidios of Buenavista and Horcasitas, because they were needed in their respective localities.

The Fathers realized that in establishing so distant a mission under these circumstances there was great danger; but delay was undesirable, and they hoped for an early establishment of the presidio. When therefore Fr. Garcés heard of the scarcity of troops in the province, he contented himself with asking for only fifteen soldiers and a sergeant; but twelve was all he could obtain. Though the case was urgent, the time from February to July was spent in preparations. At last the necessary supplies were accumu-

lated so that Fathers Garcés and Diaz could set out on August first, 1779, by way of Sonoitac which they left on the tenth. Lack of fresh water after some time compelled them to return to Sonoitac. There it was decided that Fr. Diaz should remain with the expedition until rain set in, and that Fr. Garcés with two soldiers and a guide should proceed to the Colorado which he reached on the last of August. On September 3d he sent back the two soldiers with a letter to Fr. Diaz in which he reported "that he had found the people very discontented; that the Jalchedunes had risen against the Yumas belonging to Palma's band; that the latter and his people were cheerful enough, but that the others were disagreeable; that there was much want of everything; that if he (Fr. Diaz) could not come soon he should send two soldiers with beads, some flannel, and cloth, with which to procure food." Together with this letter he sent another to the comandante general in which he described the situation, and declared that extraordinary and effective measures must be taken to prevent certain destruction. A third letter some time after was directed to the college at Querétaro.

The two soldiers with their letters arrived at Sonoitac about the same time that a Pápago Indian spread the rumor of an Indian outbreak. Two soldiers had gone to Altar for supplies, and the four with Fr. Diaz, on hearing the news, at once fled to the presidio leaving the Father alone. When Captain Tueros heard the story he requested the Fathers to abandon the Colorado mission plan; but Fr. Diaz replied that the rumor of an Indian revolt was unfounded; that the missionaries were not at liberty to withdraw; that Fr. Garcés was already at his post in obedience to the will of the comandante general; and that therefore they would continue what was begun. Accordingly he set out alone and, after many hardships, joined his companion on the Colorado. Fr.

Díaz, together with Fr. Garcés, then wrote to the governor under date of November 5th, asking him for some assistance that they might procure food. A report of what so far had been accomplished, in obedience to his orders, was also forwarded to the comandante general with a petition to take effective steps to place the missions on a firm basis. They declared that they and twelve soldiers could not subsist on their salaries alone and retain the good will of the Indians who from day to day were growing more dissatisfied with the Spaniards.

The Fathers were quite justified to make this statement; for as soon as Fr. Díaz reached the Colorado on October 2d, 1779, the missionaries found themselves surrounded by an eager and noisy crowd of Yumas who came to receive the tobacco, cloth, and other articles which Palma, relying on the promises of De Croix in Mexico, had led them to expect from the Fathers and soldiers. With promises of such things the natives had so far been kept quiet; it was but natural that they should give expression to their disappointment when they saw the missionaries appear with empty hands. In a letter to the Fathers of the college Fr. Garcés mildly gave vent to what he felt at seeing himself a victim of unkept promises: "When the Caballero ordered me to come to this tribe, he commanded me to catechize and baptize every one, because he had conceived a lofty idea of the disposition of the tribe towards Christianity, and of the imaginary dominion of Palma. The Caballero should have come in person, and I supposed, judging from Captain Anza's letters, that at least eighty men had been destined for this river mission; the force is not so large, yet it is expected to be sufficient to avert war." In the mean time the Fathers, with the twelve soldiers and two interpreters who had joined the missionaries on the Colorado, actually suffered for want of something to eat. To ob-

tain what was needed they offered to the Indians clothing, tobacco, beads, and other things in exchange for food.

The soldiers particularly were discontented, because of the absence of cigarettos, tortillas, and even more necessary articles, so that Fr. Garcés found himself obliged once more to expose the situation to the comandante general under date of November 6th. The Father intimated that all had expected to be provided with the necessaries of life at least, since they had come in obedience to his wishes. De Croix received Fr. Garcés' letters on November 13th at Arispe, whither he had gone after his recovery. When the Fathers heard of this they sent Fr. Juan Diaz to Arispe in order to explain their needs more graphically. Fr. Juan Antonio Barraneche was ordered to replace Fr. Diaz on the Colorado in the mean time. (1)

CHAPTER XII.

DE CROIX—TWO PUEBLOS TO BE FOUNDED ON A NEW PLAN—REMARKABLE REGULATIONS—PROTEST OF FR. GARCÉS—BANCROFT'S OPINION—SPANISH CONTEMPT FOR THE INDIANS—RAGE OF THE YUMAS—EFFORTS OF THE FATHERS—PALMA ARRESTED—THE YUMAS—DON RIVERA.

On arriving at the residence of De Croix, Fr. Juan Diaz explained the perilous and embarrassing position of the Fathers to the comandante, and clearly described the situation among the soldiers and Indians. He repeated what Fr. Garcés had time and again asked of the secular authorities: that more effective measures should be taken to insure the safety

(1) Arricivita, 489-497.

of all concerned, because not much reliance could be placed upon the fidelity of Palma, as his authority was recognized in one small rancharía only, while there were many Indians exceedingly hostile to the Spaniards.

“Unhappily” says Arricivita, “it is the misfortune of those in authority to be surrounded by political schemers, who through flattery gain their objects notwithstanding the plain and convincing statements of disinterested and experienced men.”

Thus it was that De Croix, though he listened to Fr. Diaz’s report, came to the remarkable determination of establishing *two* mission pueblos among the Yumas, in accordance with an entirely new and untried system devised for the occasion. The principal aim seems to have been to do that which could not be avoided, without displeasing the king, at the smallest possible cost.

Accordingly, formal instructions for organizing and governing two pueblos were issued on March 20, 1780. These regulations, dictated by a spirit inflated with lofty political notions, were practicable at towns established in the heart of Christianity and civilization, whose inhabitants were of a peaceful and submissive turn of mind, but out of place among a wild people unused to restraint of any kind. In these instructions the missionaries appeared to be ornaments rather than the spiritual fathers the Indians had learned to consider them. They had only to give catechetical instructions and administer the Sacraments, but were deprived of the means wherewith to attract the savages, and without the authority which the Indians had learned to respect.

In regard to the temporal matters of the new pueblos, the regulations directed “That the sites should be surveyed and divided into lots on which houses of uniform size and shape should be erected, and that

this should also be observed in the buildings constructed for those Indians who, persuaded by the missionaries and attracted by the good example and sweet manners of the settlers, might wish to join themselves to the pueblo." Hence the Indians were not to live in community, as at other missions, but they were to be at liberty, like the pagans, to roam wherever they pleased; this made it very difficult for the missionaries to instruct them, and to extinguish the fire of hatred against the Spaniards burning within them. In this system the Indians were under no obligations to listen to the missionaries, and, as the latter had no presents wherewith to attract the natives, very few could be induced to become Christians. Each pueblo was to have ten soldiers, ten settlers, and six laborers.

Nor was there any lack of rules and regulations concerning the spiritual affairs of the new settlements. "All shall look upon the Rev. missionaries as their true and legitimate pastors, and shall reverence them as such," these wonderful instructions declare. "On the other hand the Rev. Fathers shall watch over the observance of the Divine Law, frequently exhorting all to lead a Christian life; and if any one shall disregard their admonitions and shall give bad example in the pueblos, the military commander shall be notified, and the case examined. If the accused be found guilty he shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of the matter. The same practise shall be observed by the Fathers in correcting the Christian Indians." "Hence," Arriavita continues, "the missionaries, charged with the conversion of the Indians, were to proceed in accordance with the Divine Laws and the rules of the king, with sweetness and kindness teaching them the saving truths of our religion, to exhort those that voluntarily asked for Baptism, and to instruct them regarding the obligations of a Christian, so that they might obtain admission into

the pale of the Church with more understanding, and thus ground themselves more firmly in the Catholic faith which they were to profess.”

The missionaries must have felt much elated, says Arricivita, at the lofty titles applied to them, and at the information that they were true and legitimate pastors; but from this lofty pinnacle they were quickly brought to the proper level on learning that their jurisdiction was confined to exhorting, saying Mass, and administering the sacraments to Spaniards and Indians; and that in case their exhortations were despised, these true and legitimate pastors enjoyed the distinguished privilege of informing the sergeant who could decide for himself which of the two was right, the missionary or the accused; but if he himself happened to be the guilty one, the missionaries found no remedy and would have to suffer the consequences, as eventually they did.

It was strange that De Croix should have gone beyond his jurisdiction and obtruded himself as the teacher of the missionaries in what concerned the apostolic ministry. Had he read attentively the reports and diaries of those very missionaries, he must have seen that those Fathers knew very well how to attract and convert pagan Indians “according to the Divine Law.” De Croix’s instructions gave evidence of a mind full of conceit, but devoid of experience. A learned author and practical missionary, quoted but not named by Arricivita, writing about the importance of missionary establishments in which the natives should be civilized and Christianized at the same time, rightly says: “The first care of the government should be to conquer the fierceness and unrestraint of those people, teach them the knowledge of what they are, and lead them to the practice of a social and civilized life; for otherwise we teach in vain what is divine and celestial to those that are incapable of understanding even material things.”

De Croix also went beyond his powers in the temporal affairs of the missions; for he wanted the Indians and Spaniards to live together in one pueblo, an arrangement the king had expressly forbidden, as being a principal cause of oppression and annoyance of the Indians at the hands of the Spaniards. As soon as Fr. Garcés heard of the new plan he repeatedly protested, and gave warning that the aspect of affairs was worse than ever; that the brother of Palma and the son of Chief Pablo, who likewise had been baptized in Mexico, were stirring up the whole tribe; that a conspiracy was on foot among the young men which aimed at nothing less than the slaughter of the missionaries together with the Spaniards, when the latter should have arrived at the Colorado; that he thought them capable of the deed and therefore he pleaded for a superior force; that of the twelve soldiers assigned as guards, one by one had been retained at Altar every time he had had occasion to send one there with reports; that there was extreme want of food, and also of everything with which food could be purchased; that in view of the danger he could not spare another soldier, and therefore sent the interpreter, though he was needed, etc.

The entreaties were in vain. De Croix ordered the soldiers and settlers to proceed to the Colorado as he had directed. They suddenly arrived at the Puerto de la Concepcion, the place designated for the beginning of the mission, in the autumn of 1780. The expedition consisted of twenty colonists, twelve laborers, and twenty-one soldiers. All brought their wives and children.

“It must be admitted that De Croix acted unwisely,” says Bancroft, who, when possible, defends the secular against the missionary authorities. “The time and place were not well chosen for such an experiment. Anza a warm advocate of the Colorado mis-

sions, a man of great ability and experience, and one moreover who had seen the Yumas and their neighbors at their best, had expressed his opinion that missions could not safely be founded in this region except under the protection of a strong presidio. At the time of Anza's return it would have been hazardous to try the experiment, but in the light of the reports of the friars it was a *criminally stupid blunder*." (1)

The first pueblo was at once erected under the title of Concepcion, and the settlers took possession of the fields despite the royal law which forbade them to take the lands of the Indians. The missionaries could not prevent the encroachment, because they had nothing whatever to do with the temporal management. They saw with deep pain that there was not to be as much as a similarity to a real mission for the conversion of the pagans on the Colorado.

It was a lamentable error for the Spaniards to come under the impression that the best pieces of land, even those that were cultivated by the Indians, belonged to the settlers. At first the Indians bore the affronts of the Spaniards with a moderation foreign to their fierce nature, but they were greatly disgusted when, on complaining to the officer in command about the unjust treatment of the Spaniards, they received the reply that he could not prevent the damage. The natives then resolved to apply a remedy themselves. Nor could the commander take effective measures to frustrate their plans of revenge; for he knew that with his force of twenty soldiers, some of whom were sick, he could not seize the brother of Palma, nor the son of Chief Pablo, in the midst of a thousand unfriendly Indians. The settlers could avail him nothing, for they had neither weapons nor ammunition.

Notwithstanding these unfavorable conditions, De

(1) Bancroft, Hist. Calif. I, 358; "Franciscans in California," 89-92.

Croix organized a second pueblo among the Yumas, three leagues down the river from the first, under the title of San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer. Fathers Juan Diaz and Matías Moreno were appointed missionaries at this place, while Fathers Francisco Garcés and Juan Barrancche had charge of Concepcion. The same number of soldiers, settlers, and laborers with their families took possession of the new mission as at Concepcion.

A similar disregard for the rights and feelings of the Indians was displayed at the second colony, thus destroying any slight feeling of friendship previously existing. The Fathers for a time with difficulty retained a degree of influence. They established a kind of missionary station at some distance from the pueblo, where the natives were occasionally assembled for religious instruction. Some of them were faithful notwithstanding the unpopularity thus incurred; but their influence amounted to nothing compared with the growing hatred among the thousands of Yumas and neighboring tribes.

After the provisions brought from Sonora had been exhausted there was much suffering among the Spaniards. The natives refused to part with the little corn in their possession, and asked exorbitant prices for the wild products they gathered. In their great need the Spaniards sent to San Gabriel for assistance, and were given those articles of food that could be spared by that mission. In asking for this aid, says Palou, they declared that if it were not sent they would have to abandon the Colorado establishments.

Nevertheless the Spaniards continued in their contempt for the feelings of the natives. To make matters worse they administered an occasional flogging, or confinement in the stocks, to offending Indians to show their superiority. This was most galling to the natives. The Fathers went on with their fruitless

task, and performed their duties as well as possible, though well aware that trouble was brewing which would result in their own destruction. A few leading spirits among the Yumas were constantly inciting their people to active hostilities in order to revenge themselves upon their oppressors. Even Palma lost all patience with the Spaniards and joined the ring-leaders. This unpleasant state of affairs might have continued for an indefinite time, but in the spring of 1781 the military officer took it into his head to frighten the Indians into submission to Spanish whims. He had chief Palma arrested and put in the stocks. This most stupid measure was an overwhelming blow for the missionaries who well understood what must follow as a matter of course; for naturally the chief would feel the humiliation intensely, and leave the people more furious than submissive; nor would his people fail to avenge the insult offered to their chief. It is no wonder the Indians regretted having allowed themselves to be so deceived by Anza's kindness as to admit into their country men who conducted themselves as though they owned the whole region together with its inhabitants.

When Captain Anza and his soldiers had passed through the Yuma country, they had proved themselves liberal with tobacco, beads, and other articles, and this had led them to believe that the Spaniards possessed inexhaustible riches, and would furnish everything that Indian appetite might desire. Instead of this they received injury and abuse, and discovered that the intruders were too poor to provide even the most necessary articles for themselves. This turned their former friendship into contempt and implacable hatred. The Yumas, seeing how little resistance could be made by the small guard, resolved to rid themselves of the Spaniards and thus become masters of all they possessed. When Palma was released the Indians feigned penitence and sub-

mission, but at the same time plans were laid for a general massacre. Fr. Garcés, who had been enthusiastic about the disposition shown by the Yumas, when he occasionally visited them during his tours, had learned by this time, as did many a missionary since, that to visit the Indians at rare intervals and see little of their vices, was one thing, while to live among them for the purpose of instructing them, was another and a very different thing.

In speaking of the Yuma nation about this time, he says: "Since they are not accustomed to hunting, drunkenness, roving in the mountains, eating *mezcales*, or other food than that gathered on the shore or in their little plots of ground, nor addicted to any kind of idolatry, they are naturally well disposed towards Christianity. Nevertheless there are many difficulties to be overcome: they dislike any kind of restraint; they have little necessity for food, which is usually the principal inducement for the Indians; and they are scattered on both sides of the river. Moreover, the Yumas being the most ignorant of the frontier tribes, and exceedingly dull of comprehension, and because of the concubinage generally practised, few between the ages of twenty and sixty can be baptized."

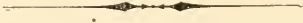
These obstacles, however, were but stimulants to the zeal of Fr. Garcés, Arricivita tells us. By separating the catechumens from those unwilling to accept Christianity, and by placing them in regular missions, he claimed these obstacles could be overcome. Unfortunately, De Croix' system made this arrangement impossible. The Fathers, therefore, devised another means of gathering the Indians apart from the Spaniards. They erected a shanty, about a league and a half from the pueblo, where they said Mass on festival days, and often remained for some time to visit the sick in the neighboring hovels, to conciliate the turbulent characters, and to induce the In-

dians to frequent the instructions. It was while attending to their priestly duties in this way that the missionaries discovered the bloodthirsty plans of the Yumas.

Late in June Capt. Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada arrived from Sonora with a company of about forty recruits and their families, who were on their way to the newly formed establishments along the Santa Barbara Channel. From the Colorado he sent back most of his Sonoran escort, despatched the main company to San Gabriel in charge of Alférez Simon and nine men, recrossed the Colorado, and, with eleven or twelve men, including Sergeant Robles and five or six soldiers sent from the California presidios to meet him, encamped on the eastern bank opposite Concepcion, where he proposed to remain for some weeks to restore the horses and cattle to their proper condition, before beginning the trip to San Gabriel.

Rivera's coming contributed nothing to the pacification of the natives, but had a contrary effect: for his large herd of live-stock destroyed the mesquite plants which furnished much of the food the Indians were accustomed to use. Nor was he liberal in the distribution of gifts, and for this reason the Jalchedunes sent him word that they did not care to retain the badges of office formerly given their chiefs by the Spaniards. From his choice of a location for his camp, it is evident that he attached little importance to this significant action of the Yuma neighbors, nor shared the apprehensions of the missionaries. (2)

(2) Arricivita 457-506; Banc. Hist. Cal. I. 353-363; Vida del Junípero Serra," 241-249.



CHAPTER XIII.

INDIANS GROW INSOLENT—GRIEF OF THE FATHERS—THEIR EFFORTS—ATTACK ON CONCEPCION—FR. BARRANCHE'S HEROIC DEED—GENERAL MASSACRE AT SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO—SLAUGHTER OF RIVERA AND HIS MEN—RETURN OF THE SAVAGES TO CONCEPCION—MURDER OF FATHERS GARCES AND BARRANCHE—BURIAL—DISCOVERY OF THE BODIES OF THE FOUR MARTYRS—TRANSFER OF THE BODIES TO TUBUTAMA.

Meanwhile the Indians became more insolent, and often visited the towns armed and in a quarrelsome mood. These signs of an impending storm should have awakened the Spaniards to see the necessity of taking steps to insure their safety; but nothing was done to avert the disaster which the Fathers had predicted. These found themselves powerless with both the Indians and the Spaniards. With the former their influence was gone, because they were of the same nation as the oppressors; and as to the soldiers and settlers, they would accept neither counsel nor correction. Nor would the comandante credit the missionaries' reports about the bad example of the Spaniards. There was nothing for the missionaries to do but to submit to the inevitable. Filled with grief they now turned their attention to their misguided countrymen, and for many days they devoted almost their entire work to re-awaken interest in religious exercises.

By fervent addresses they strove to excite the Spaniards to contrition for their past sins, and thus prepared the souls of the unsuspecting men, women, and children for the death that was imminent. Their zealous instructions and exhortations opened the eyes of many so that they frequently received the

Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. So remarkable was the attendance at the Rosary, Stations, and other spiritual devotions that the two little settlements had the appearance of two communities of Religious.

On Tuesday July 17th, 1881, the storm burst upon the unsuspecting Spaniards. The bell had called the faithful to the early morning Mass as usual. The only soldiers at Concepcion were Comandante Don Santiago Islas and Corporal Baylon. These with the women and children proceeded to the little church, while the men performed their duties in the fields. The corporal remained on guard to see that the Indians, who as on the day before were prowling about with their weapons, made no disturbance. Fr. Barraneche had already celebrated the Holy Sacrifice and was making his thanksgiving, and Fr. Garcés had commenced the second Mass. After the Epistle, while the missal was removed to the Gospel side, the wild yells of the Indians, who had surrounded the church, burst on the ears of the worshippers. Instantly Comandante Islas rushed out to get his weapons, but was beaten to death with clubs and sticks as soon as he appeared. Fr. Garcés left the altar, and Fr. Juan Barraneche hastened out. On seeing the corporal surrounded by a crowd of savages, who were beating him with clubs, the intrepid missionary threw himself into their midst, and, though receiving many a blow himself, gave the dying soldier absolution. After this courageous act he escaped back into the church. After throwing the body of the comandante into the river, the Indians began to rob the dwellings of the Spaniards. Some of the savages ran to the fields in search of the white men, of whom they killed all but a few who had found it possible to take refuge in the church or priests' house which were not molested that day.

In the afternoon Fr. Juan Barraneche slipped out

to bestow the last sacraments on some Spaniards whom he found in a dying condition. The night following, the Fathers exhorted all to lose no time in idle lamentation, but to receive the blow in a spirit of Christian resignation, and as a punishment for their sins.

Much more thoroughly and quickly did the savages complete their work at the town of San Pedro y San Pablo, three leagues below, where Fathers Juan Diaz and Matías Moreno were stationed. The priests had not yet celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, but were about to give the last sacraments to a dying person, when the mob of howling savages fell upon the settlement with diabolical fury. The Fathers were among the first victims. Fr. Moreno's head was cut off with an ax. Some of the inhabitants were taken captive, and compelled to cast all the sacred images and the altar vessels into the river. Other ornaments, and whatever else in the pueblo seemed of value to the enemies, were carried away together with the women. To complete the work of destruction the Yumas set fire to the church and Spanish dwellings.

As the Indians did not reappear on the morning of the 18th, the Fathers at Concepcion thought that savage fury had subsided. Fr. Barraneche therefore proposed that all survivors praise God and the Blessed Virgin for their preservation. Holy Mass was then celebrated, and coming events awaited until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when Fr. Barraneche espied the savages approaching the mission.

The Yumas had meanwhile crossed the Colorado and attacked the camp of Don Fernando Rivera on the Arizona side of the river. Don Fernando Rivera had hastily thrown up some slight intrenchments, and his men, consisting of one sergeant and six soldiers, had made a gallant defence. They killed many of the Indians, but the numbers against them were too great. One by one the Spaniards fell under the

arrows and clubs of the enemy until not one was left. When the bloody encounter, which lasted till noon on the 18th, had ceased, the savages recrossed the river in order to finish their bloody work at Concepcion.

Fr. Barraneche quickly advised each one to make his escape as well as possible, as no one need look for mercy at the hands of the infuriated Yumas. The Fathers then hastened from the church followed by their people. They reached a long but narrow lagoon, and were at once seen by a Spaniard, who lay wounded on the other bank, crying for absolution. Fr. Barraneche immediately cast himself into the water. As the lagoon was deep he got into imminent peril, and was compelled to let go his breviary and crucifix in order to save himself by seizing an overhanging branch. After reaching the shore he heard the wounded soldier's confession, and helped him to die with resignation.

Fr. Garcés meanwhile divested himself of his cloak and habit, which he tore into suitable pieces and distributed to some of his followers who were naked. Then clad in his tunic only, he also crossed the lagoon, and together with Fr. Barraneche proceeded to the hut of an Indian woman who had always manifested a kind interest for their welfare. The husband of the woman also kindly received the missionaries, wherefore both Fathers remained in hiding at their habitation until the 19th.

When the savages discovered the escape of the missionaries, they gave vent to their passions by plundering or destroying the chapel and the homes of the Spaniards. A discussion then arose. Many of the Indians declared that they had enough revenge; that the Fathers should be allowed to go free because they had a good heart; and that no effort should be made to find them.

Palma on the next day took advantage of this pre-

disposition, and gave orders that search should be made for the Fathers; that, if they were alive, they should be kindly brought back because they were innocent and good; and that no injury should be done them. Unhappily, among those sent out to look for the missionaries was an Indian of the Nifora tribe. Fr. Garcés had employed this wretch as interpreter; but the Indian had deserted his benefactor as soon as the revolt broke out.

In their search the Yumas finally came to the hut that sheltered the two missionaries. As soon as they were discovered, the Nifora traitor exclaimed: "If these are allowed to live everything is lost, because they are the worst." In the excitement which these words produced, the Indians forgot Palma's orders; they fell upon the two priests with clubs and sticks, and beat them to death before the eyes of the old Indian couple who could do nothing to prevent the murder. After the departure of the murderers they reverently buried the bodies in the sandy soil, and placed a cross over the grave.

Soon the news of the massacre reached the Pimas on the Gila, and from them it travelled to the Pápagos around Tucson. Some days later, in August, the rumor was confirmed by the appearance at Altar of one of the captives who had escaped. The captain immediately reported the matter to the comandante general, and at the same time despatched a soldier to the Colorado to ascertain the facts. The soldier was put to death as soon as he arrived. Comandante General De Croix, whose folly had brought the calamity about, was at last convinced that something serious had occurred on the Colorado. He therefore ordered Captain Den Pedro Fagés with his company, likewise Don Pedro Tueros, commander of the presidio at Altar, to proceed to the Colorado, to ransom the captives by means of beads, flannels, etc.,

and to chastise the murderers afterwards. (1)

While the Spaniards in September were slowly getting ready to start for the Yuma country, a soldier who had been a captive arrived with a letter from Chief Palma, in which the latter expressed regret for what had happened, and asked pardon for the misdeeds. The letter was written by Don Matías another prisoner. The Spaniards, however, considered the offence so perfidious that it deserved exemplary punishment, and for that purpose at last left the presidio of Altar.

On hearing of the expedition and its purpose, the Fr. President of the missions begged the comandante general to have the bodies of the four murdered priests brought to Tubutama for burial. De Croix readily granted the request, and to that effect ordered a courier to follow the troops who had already departed some time before.

The Spaniards crossed the Colorado at the mouth of the Gila; but not an Indian could be found anywhere. The buildings had been reduced to ashes; the bodies of some dead settlers or soldiers still unburied were interred, when the Spaniards resolved to return to Sonora.

They had already reached Sonoytac late in October, (2) when the courier bearing orders to bring back the bodies of the missionaries arrived. As Don Fagés could not say that he had made diligent search, he returned with his soldiers to the Colorado, and this time first examined the second mission site, of San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer, on December 7th, nearly five months after the massacre. The bod-

(1) Arricivita, 504-511; Bancroft Hist. Cal. Vol. 1. 365-367.

(2) Bancroft says with the captives; and he also states that before returning to the Colorado Fagés held an examination at Sonita, October 31st, and took the testimony of six men who had survived the massacre. Why Fagés should do this on the road and not wait till he had recovered the bodies of the missionaries, is not clear. We, therefore, prefer to follow Arricivita's and Palou's narrative.

ies of the slain still lay where they had fallen. The remains of Fathers Diaz and Moreno were found close together. Those of Fr. Diaz were recognized at once; but the head of Fr. Moreno was gone; the body, however, was identified by the patched habit, his cord, and the crucifix which he always had worn on his breast. Otherwise the bodies were intact, and no one, from their condition, could have guessed that five months had elapsed since the two religious had been murdered. Here also nothing was left of the pueblo, but ashes and a few remnants of buildings. The remains of the two Fathers were placed in a box, and preparations made to transfer them to Sonora as directed.

Search was now instituted at Concepcion, three leagues up the river, for Fathers Garcés and Barraneche. As they could not be found anywhere near the mission site, it was fondly hoped that the missionaries had been spared, because Fr. Garcés was much beloved by the Indians all over the country. Almighty God, however, says Arricivita, would not deprive his servant of the honor and merit of shedding his blood for the faith; the faithful religious therefore shared the lot of his brethren.

While the soldiers were scouring the surrounding country in search of the Fathers, dead or alive, they espied a piece of ground which, unlike the parched land around, was covered with a green growth. On drawing nearer they found a spot covered with green grass and a variety of beautiful flowers, some known and some unknown to them, among which the marigold was conspicuous. Captain Pedro Tueros (3) ordered the soldiers to dig, and after some time to the joy and surprise of all, the uncorrupted bodies of Fathers Garcés and Barraneche were discovered lying side by side, clad in their tunics, and girdles.

The remains of the four faithful religious were

(3) Bancroft has Fueros.

then placed in one chest and later on conveyed to Tubutama, where after the usual ceremonies they received a most honorable burial on the Epistle side of the main altar.

After having discovered the bodies of the four martyred priests, the commander of the troops directed his attention to the rescue of the captives which he effected after some difficulty; for the Yumas had fled from that part of the country in consequence of a singular incident which had thrown them into consternation. According to the testimony of the captives, every night after the massacre at San Pedro y San Pablo a procession was seen of people dressed in white, holding burning candles in their hands, who preceded by one carrying a cross and two candle bearers, marched round about the place where the mission had stood; that the members of the procession sang hymns which could not be understood; and that after having marched around many times the procession disappeared.

This occurred for many nights, and was seen not only by the Christian prisoners, but likewise by the savages among whom it caused such a dread that they abandoned their land and removed eight leagues farther down the river. For this reason the soldiers at first could not discover the Indian camps. The commander now saw that for the time being he could take no further action; he therefore determined to return with the women and children he had rescued, and to bear the precious relics of the martyrs to Sonora as directed.

De Croix was determined to have the ringleaders of the revolt captured and the whole tribe punished. On September 10th he had forwarded to Governor Neve of California the resolutions of the council of the day before, to the end that he, as the proper official to direct all military operations in California, might on hearing of Fagés' arrival at the Colorado

send orders or go in person to take command. Neve accordingly had prepared a force, composed chiefly of men waiting to found Santa Barbara. Fagés had later on been instructed to march without delay to attack the Yumas. He was to announce his arrival to Neve, and if his first charge on the foe was not decisively successful in securing the death of the Yuma leaders, and establishing a permanent peace, the command was to be transferred to Neve, and military operations were to be continued. After the enemy was fully conquered the governor was to select a proper site for a presidio on the Colorado, which would afford adequate protection to future settlements, and report in full as to the number of men and other help required. Government aid was to be furnished to the families who had survived the massacre.

These resolutions of the council were not received by Fagés until he had returned from his second trip, or at least not until it was too late to carry them out. The orders were therefore somewhat modified by the council on January 2d, 1782. Fagés with forty men was then ordered to press on as rapidly as possible to San Gabriel, where he should receive instructions and aid from Neve. Meanwhile Tueros with a sufficient force was to reach the Colorado by April 1st, and there await orders from Neve. The governor was instructed to take all the available troops in California, and to begin the campaign by the 1st of April.

Fagés seems to have arrived at San Gabriel late in March. After reading the despatches brought by this officer, the governor decided that it was too early in the season for effective operations on the Colorado, on account of the high water, and therefore he postponed the campaign until September, when the river would be fordable, and the Yuma harvest serve as desirable spoils for native allies. Fagés was sent to

the Colorado to give corresponding instructions to Tueros, who was to proceed to Sonora and wait, while Fagés returned to wait in California. De Croix seems to have approved the change of the plan, for on May 16th the council once more met at Arizpe to issue thirteen resolutions respecting the fall campaign, the substance of which was that about one hundred and sixty men were to be on the east bank of the Colorado on the morning of September 15th to meet the California troops, and show the rebellious Yumas the power of Spanish arms.

The resolutions were executed to a certain extent. The campaign began at the time stated, but Palma and other ringleaders were not captured, nor the Yumas subdued. After killing one hundred and eight Indians, capturing eighty-five others of both sexes, liberating ten Christian prisoners, and driving away 1,408(?) horses, the officers persuaded themselves that peace was restored. Yet the tribe of the Yumas remained independent of all Spanish control, and was more or less hostile to the whites, until severely chastised and subdued by the troops of the United States about the middle of the nineteenth century. "Neither presidio, mission, nor pueblo was ever again established on the Colorado; and communication by this route never ceased to be attended with danger. Truly, as the Franciscan chroniclers do not fail to point out, the old way was best; the innovations of Croix had led to nothing but disaster; the *nuevo modo de conquistar* was a failure." (4)

Naturally the Fr. President of the missions, Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbastro, was anxious to have the memory of the four murdered Fathers cleared from all blame of the calamity that befel the pueblos on the Colorado. Moreover many particulars were obtained from the ransomed captives which ap-

(4) Arricivita 504-515; Palou, "Vida," 240-253; Bancroft, Hist. Calif. I, 362-371; Gleason, Hist. Catholic Church in California, 87-93.

peared so remarkable that under date of February 4, 1782, he petitioned Don Fagés to institute a juridical inquiry as to the virtues, labors, conduct, and death of the four Franciscans who had lost their lives on the banks of the Colorado. Don Fagés agreed to the request. The information gathered was drawn up in writing and sworn to by the witnesses. From this report (5) it is evident that the private lives and public conduct of the four priests were above reproach; that their zeal for the conversion of the pagans was fervent and unceasing, despite the many hardships and the hopelessness of their labors on account of the circumstances surrounding them; that in no way were they the cause of the revolt and of the ruin of the mission pueblos, which must on the contrary be attributed to the shortsightedness of the government officials; that, according to the narrative of Captain Pedro Tueros, who was present at the exhumation of the bodies of Fathers Garcés and Barraneche, these appeared fresh and entire; and that on the spot where the remains had been buried [by an Indian woman, many fragrant flowers, of a kind not seen about there, had grown up, whilst the soil all around was dry and parched.

This satisfied the Fathers, wherefore some years later the relics were taken to the mother house at Querétaro, and there solemnly interred on July 19th, 1794. A sermon on the virtues and merits of the four martyrs was delivered in Spanish by Father Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzande, and another in Latin by Father José Maria Carranza. (6)

Thus came to an end the work and the grand plans of Fr. Garcés for the conversion of the Indians on the Gila and the Colorado rivers. No other son of

(5) For full report see Appendix. (6) Arricivita, 510-514; Palou, "Vi-da", 247-252; Bancroft, Hist. Cal. Vol. I, 367-271; Gleeson, Hist. Cath. Church, 92; Shea, Hist. Cath. Church, Vol. IV, 338-343. Shea's account is erroneous in several places.

St. Francis ever again visited the Yumas in their camps on the Colorado until more than a hundred years after.

About the middle of the century the Government of the United States erected a military post on the hill opposite the mouth of the Gila River. The buildings were constructed at an expense of 1,000,000 dollars. In 1884 the structures were transferred to the Department of the Interior for the education of the Yuma children. After experimenting with a Protestant teacher for a year, and finding that the Indians would not send their children, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs resolved to put the place in charge of Catholic Sisters. The proposition was to be accepted or declined immediately. At the earnest solicitation of Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., who during January and February 1886 was at Washington in behalf of the Menominee missions of Wisconsin, the Rev. Mother Agatha, Superioress General of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, by despatch dated St. Louis, Mo., Febr. 23, 1886, agreed to send Sisters to Yuma. Accordingly Mother Julia, assistant to Rev. Mother Agatha, early in March with a number of Sisters arrived at their convent, Yuma, Arizona, and remained for six weeks until the delapidated buildings were ready to receive them. Mother Ambrose, under the official name of Mary O'Neil, on May 1st, was duly installed and made government superintendent, independent of any reservation agent, and has held the position to this day. The other Sisters were: Sisters Leontius, Salesia, Aniceta, Alphons, Mary Joseph, and Modesta. Two of the Sisters were Mexicans.

In the same year Fr. Zephyrin, having permission, at the invitation of the Rev. Mother Agatha, passed three months, Sept. 26 to Dec. 26, at old Fort Yuma to find relief from general ill health, the result of hardships and overwork in the Menominee




YUMA BOYS.

mission. He was, as far as known, the first Franciscan to visit the scene of Fr. Garcés' labors, and had the good fortune to baptize the first Yuma adult, a girl of 17, then dying in the Yuma camps below. She passed away the next morning, and her body with all her belongings, according to Yuma custom, were burned a few hours after. The parents like all the Yumas were pagans. Since then a great many of the Indians, mostly children, have been baptized; thus after a century the blood of the four martyrs of the Colorado is bearing fruit.

The Father meanwhile endeavored to obtain the story of the massacre from the Indians themselves. They must have had some tradition about the affair. He questioned their chief Pasqual, who appeared to be over 90 years of age, and in his youth must have heard the story from his elders; but neither he nor any one else would acknowledge that the Yumas had anything to do with the matter. One at last declared that he had heard of the killing, but that the Yumas had been deceived by other Indians. (7)

The Father also endeavored to prepare a vocabulary of their language, and succeeded, after loosening the tongues of the unwilling Indians with many a cigarette, in collecting about 500 words. With the exception of a short vocabulary, not entirely correct, prepared by a military officer and published in the Pacific Railroad Reports, Vol. III, pages 95-101, there never had been anything printed in the Yuma language. As to the exact spot where Fr. Garces' mission stood, which the writer tried to discover, see the appendix.

(7) Chief Pasqual was baptized on the first of May 1887, and soon after died.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE MARTYRS OF LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION—FR. FRANCISCO GARCES AND
FR. JUAN BARRANECHÉ.

Fr. Francisco Garces, the leader of the little band of missionaries that were stationed on the Colorado, was born at Morata del Conde, Aragón, Spain, on the 12th of April, 1738. The child was baptized on the next day when he received the names Francisco, Tomás, Hermenegildo, names which foreshadowed his career; for he became a son of St. Francis of Asissi, imitated St. Thomas by preaching the Gospel to the Indians, and died like St. Hermenegildo for the faith of Christ.

His parents were Juan Garcés and Antonia Maestro. When they noticed the boy's inclination to piety, they put him in charge of his uncle, the Rev. Moses Domingo Garcés, curate in his native town. At the age of fifteen Garcés left his relative to enter the Franciscan Order in the province of Aragón. After finishing the study of philosophy he was sent to the monastery of Calatayud to enter upon the study of theology. It was customary there to have the clerics go out into the country to pass their recreations. At such occasions Garcés would withdraw from his companions in order to search for poor laborers to whom he would speak about the divine mysteries and other points of religion, thus early giving evidence of his fitness to instruct the ignorant.

Having finished his studies he was ordained priest at the age of twenty-five. Moved to pity for the Indians in America he asked to be allowed to join the

college of Querétaro, whose commissary at the time was collecting recruits in Spain. At Madrid Fr. Garcés met Fr. Juan Chrysostomo Gil who had also volunteered for the missions in America.

When Garcés entered the famous missionary college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro he was 28 years of age. The young priest was among the most exact in the community, and took especial delight to be present in the choir. It not being customary to let Fathers of his age hear the confession of women, Garcés was the more indefatigable with the men and boys. He took particular pains to instruct the boys well in Christian Doctrine, and infuse into their innocent souls the fear of God in order to counteract the evil example of their elders.

When the missions of Sonora in 1767 were transferred from the Jesuits to the Franciscan Fathers, Garcés at once asked to be sent to that wild country. After waiting three months at Tepic, Fr. Garcés and other missionaries set sail from San Blas on January 20, 1768. The voyage had lasted three months and a half when Guaimas was reached. At Horcasitas the missions were distributed among the missionaries, and Fr. Garcés was assigned to San Xavier del Bac in Arizona, the most northern of the missions, and the one most exposed to the raids of the Apaches.

There he lived in extreme poverty; for in his zeal he accommodated himself to the customs of the natives in order to gain their good will. His bed was the bare floor, and he had no other covering than his habit. His food was that of the Indians, atole for breakfast, tortillas for his bread, seeds of the country served as victuals, and often he satisfied his hunger with a little roasted corn. He never used tobacco, neither in the shape of snuff nor in that of cigars, but he always carried some along for the Indians. What the government allowed him for his daily sustenance he shared with the Indians, and in

turn would accept fruits or roots. The rumor of his kindness and liberality soon spread far and wide, so that curiosity brought many to see him who were then captivated by his gentle manners and councils. All over Pimería Alta Fr. Garcés was highly esteemed and looked upon as an oracle. Many came to visit him, notably the Pápagos, whose idiom he did not understand. These he would receive with open arms, a language understood by all. Many articles the college sent to the missionary at his destitute mission Fr. Garcés did not use, such as chocolate, sugar, tobacco, etc.; with them he would procure farm implements and other necessary articles for his neophytes, such as flannels, beads, blankets, sackcloth, etc. In this way Fr. Garcés attracted the pagans to his mission for instructions. Though only thirty years of age he was called "old man" by the natives, and under that affectionate appellation they would seek him. At first he made many blunders in learning the language, and the Indians would laugh heartily at his efforts, but by degrees he learnt to speak the native idiom as correctly as any of them.

Soon after his arrival at San Xavier the new missionary was invited by the Pápagos to visit their country. He accordingly left his mission, and without guards or provisions set out in August 1768 on his first missionary tour, preaching the divine truths wherever he went. In the following year he entered the Apache country. In 1770 an epidemic of measles devastated the rancherías on the Gila. On hearing of this Fr. Garcés hastened thither and baptized many children before they died. This time he made a more extensive trip, travelling ninety leagues. In 1771 he reached the Colorado where the Yumas received the now famous "old man" with delight. He also went down the river to its mouth, and returned after an

absence of nearly three months, having travelled 300 leagues.

Fr. Garcés closed the description of his lengthy trip in this humorous strain: "Little by little, eating most delicate *pitahallas*, I reached Caborca, girt with my handkerchief; since the cord was worn out I had to avail myself of it as a cord; the handkerchief, too, was worn out. When I started on the journey I was not well, my legs were swollen, and I thought to cure myself in going out, and now I am, thanks be to God, neither thin nor fleshy, and thus although I had no other motive, it is sufficient that through those journeys I became useful enough to live at San Xavier."

On the 2d of January, 1774, Fr. Garcés started out from Tubac and accompanied an expedition as far as San Gabriel, California, whence he endeavored to find a road to New Mexico. He did not return to San Xavier until the latter part of May.

In September 1775 he accompanied an expedition bound for San Francisco as far as the Colorado River. He then visited all the tribes on the Colorado from its mouth to the Mojave country, when he turned east to the Moqui Indians in northern Arizona, returning to his mission on September 17th of the next year.

By order of the Comandante General De Croix, Garcés visited the Yumas in August 1779, and found the Indians very much changed on account of the duplicity of the Spanish officials. Garcés warned and protested, but his counsels were not heeded by the Spanish authorities. During the ten months that the mission pueblos existed on the Colorado, Fr. Garcés, with his three companions in the missionary field, in vain did all he could to avert the disastrous revolt of the infuriated Indians; and he remained at his post to the last. Death and life seemed to be equally acceptable to him, provided either was ac-

ceptable to Christ, the Lord. He only wished to serve in the apostolic ministry if destined to live, or receive eternal rest, if destined to die at the hands of those he had benefitted. With these sentiments he journeyed about the country and fearlessly exposed himself to a violent death, and to untold perils from hunger and thirst, from going about without protection, through waterless deserts, along frightful precipices, through mountains, swamps, and lagoons. He feared neither wild beasts nor savages, as he knew neither could injure him until the Lord so willed. On one occasion he had knelt down on the ground all absorbed with devotion to recite his office, when a party of Indians surrounded him, with bows bent to shoot. A mysterious awe held them; but when he at last perceived them he continued his devotion undisturbed; and after he had concluded won them by his affectionate address.”

“He was received everywhere, except among the Moquis, with veneration and affection; and the worst annoyance he experienced among the natives proceeded from this very affection for the “old man;” for they would refuse to guide him in order to compel him to remain among them. Such conduct on the part of haughty, barbarous, and warlike Indians was the best proof that truth, humility, and evangelical poverty are the most effective weapons for subduing savage fierceness and stubbornness. These, at any rate, were the charms Fr. Garcés employed to win the esteem and submission of the natives of Arizona.”

Fr. Garcés, Arriçivita continues, loved prayer in the missions as well as at his convent; for this united him to his Divine Master, and preserved strong the faith for the sake of which he underwent indescribable hardships.

By order of his superiors Fr. Garcés kept a diary of his journeys in which he described the country

through which he passed and the Indians that occupied it. He therein also made suggestions regarding the manner in which missions should be founded and conducted in order to make them successful. (1) Unfortunately the political authorities, as whose agents the Fathers later on were unhappily considered by the natives in their fury, and whose orders had to be awaited, paid little attention to the advice and warnings of the experienced apostolic traveller. The result was that even Fr. Garcés, the "old man," as the natives affectionately called him, was not spared by the Indians in their blind rage against the Spaniards, but was butchered together with the guilty on July 19th, 1781, at the age of 43 years, 28 of which he had passed in religion. (2)

Fr. Juan Antonio Barraneche, Fr. Garcés' assistant, was born in 1749 at Lacazor, diocese of Pamplona, Navarra, Spain. When quite young his parents entrusted the boy to a nobleman who took him to Havana, where he entered upon a commercial career. For the innocent youth this was a perilous position at a seaport, where he was liable to fall in with the worst class of sailors and ruffians; but young Barraneche was preserved from the contagion of immorality, and from indifferentism in religious matters.

On one occasion Juan Antonio gave an alms to a blind man, who in return spoke to the boy so earnestly about the dangers of the world that he began seriously to ponder on the truths of salvation. The outcome was that Barraneche resolved to enter the Seraphic Order. His confessor approved of the plan,

(1) His Diaries were brought to the notice of the king of Spain whose minister in the name of his majesty addressing the viceroy says of the intrepid missionary: "Que el rey habia visto con mucha satisfaccion las noticias que le dá de este religioso de sus peregrinaciones desde el Rio Colorado a la mision de San Gabriel, y de esta al Moqui: que espera S. M. el Diario que tiene ofrecido, y manda que en su real nombre se le den las gracias por el zelo y fervor con que se emplea en descubrir, tratar y atraer naciones tan ignoradas." (2) *Arrievita*, 426: 510-517.

but in order to try him, the priest informed Juan Antonio that he must first learn grammar. The young man providentially found a suitable teacher with whom for two years he not only learned grammar, but progress in piety as well. Having proved his vocation Juan Antonio was admitted to the Franciscan Order at Havana in 1768, when nineteen years of age.

After making his profession Barraneche gave himself up to the practice of prayer and virtue, and especially to the observance of poverty and rigid mortification, even more so than he was permitted to do in the novitiate.

His occupation after finishing Divine Office in the choir, were repeated visits to the Blessed Sacrament, the care of the sanctuary lamp, begging alms, and passing a large part of the night in fervent prayer. At the same time he pursued the study of philosophy, and looked upon the lessons and exercises as so many acts of obedience. He was also zealous in teaching Christian Doctrine to the boys.

While Fr. Antonio was preparing for Holy Orders, Fr. Henrique Echasco arrived at Havana, having completed his twelve years in the missions. The conversations Barraneche held with the venerable missionary resulted in an application for admission into the missionary college of Querétaro, in order that he might be able to preach the Gospel to the Indians. Fr. Echasco recommended the young cleric who was accepted on June 14th, 1773. Leaving Havana on August 12th Barraneche arrived at the Pánuco River, and disembarked at the Port of Tampico which was about 200 leagues from Querétaro. Having no other baggage than a breviary, he travelled the whole distance on foot and reached the college on September 13th. At his own request he was allowed to be subject to the master of novices, and perform the exercises of the novices. Punctual as ever in the regula-

tions of the community, he moreover took the discipline every day and slept on bare boards. After Matins and meditations he would remain in the choir to perform the Station or other devotions until the hour for Holy Mass at which he served the priest, and this he continued to do even after he had become priest himself. The young cleric observed all the fasts after the manner of St. Francis; and on many days of the year he would use bread and water only. At supper he would be contented with herbs; and only when the confessor so ordered would he use meat. There were, indeed, few days in the year on which he did not fast; on such days he would deprive himself of the customary chocolate. Barraneche wished to fast on bread and water at all times, but this he was permitted to do only once for five days.

Nevertheless Barraneche was friendly, kind, and assiduous in helping others, anxious to be a burden or annoyance to no one. For this reason he would say Mass after all other Fathers had finished. He was a great reader of spiritual books, but found especial delight in St. Bonaventure's *Stimulus Amoris*. It is needless to state that he was zealous for the souls of others as well. Hence in visiting the sick, in helping them to recite the divine office, and in hearing confessions Barraneche was tireless. After six years of a most exemplary life at the missionary college, the superiors deemed him worthy to take part in the labors of an apostolic missionary among the pagans. On finding the young priest willing he was sent to Sonora. The Fr. President was not slow to recognize Barraneche's worth, for he made him assistant to Fr. Garcés at the most difficult and dangerous post in the province.

There must be harmony among the missionaries, Arricivita remarks, if they would do effective work; one must conform to the other; little differences and

even great ones must be entirely set aside for the sake of the souls for whom Christ died. The younger must defer to the elder or superior as to one more experienced, clothed with authority, and burdened with responsibility. Happily for both there existed the most affectionate harmony between Fr. Garcés and his young fellow laborer. Theirs was a holy alliance which made both equal in zeal for the good of souls, in apostolic poverty, in extraordinary frugality, in solicitude for the pagans, in corporal mortification, in prayer, and in other functions of the ministry, which united them in all the hardships, and did not permit a separation even in death, as both were lowered into the same grave.

It is difficult to say which of the two was more zealous to spread the faith; which was more solicitous to convert the pagans; which more liberal with them; which more humane, poor, ingenuous, and apt to attract them. This great harmony of virtues and sameness of principle made the two bodies appear to be moved by one spirit, and in both it was a truly apostolic spirit.

After being two years at work instructing the Indians, Barraneche wrote: "It is deplorable that before our very eyes many innocent souls perish, many children die without Baptism; and though we do not neglect to go through the whole tribe in search of sick children, we cannot prevent many from dying without the grace of Baptism." This was one result of the stupid plan of attempting to found missions without gathering the Indians in one place, but letting them rove about the mountains or lagoons, so that it was necessary to wander over eight leagues of country in order to find them.

The ministry of the Fathers was, therefore, exceedingly difficult; but as they redoubled their efforts, it was not altogether fruitless, for Barraneche writes: "Of the children whom pagan parents volun-

tarily brought for the purpose, there were baptized more than two hundred, many of whom died, as did also a number of old people, and some others." Thus about 300 in all received the grace of Baptism. In another letter he says: "Likewise some old people, first instructed, as far as possible, in the mysteries and duties of our faith, have been baptized, together with a number of sick men who were in danger of death, some of whom died. In as far as we baptize old people and others that are sick, we indeed have some doubts regarding their dispositions to receive Baptism; but charity obliges us to favor them in what manner we can."

Fr. Garcés' opinion of Fr. Barraneche is contained in these few characteristic words: "Fr. Juan is very much contented; he is of that calibre which conquers many; he is another St. Patrick." Fr. Juan Antonio Barraneche died at the hands of the Indians, nevertheless, at the age of thirty-two, when a Religious thirteen years, and after nine years as a missionary apostolic. (2)

CHAPTER XV.

THE MARTYRS OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO—FR. JUAN DIAZ AND FR. JOSE MATIAS MORENO.

Fr. Juan Diaz was born in May 1736, at Alazar in the archdiocese of Sevilla, Spain. His father was Juan Marcelo and his mother Feliciana Basquez. (1)

(2) Arricivita, 547-554.

(1) The name Diaz was given him by the god-father Alonso Diaz. When receiving the holy habit he called himself Juan Marcelo Diaz; but since his profession he went by the name Juan Diaz only.

When 18 years of age he began his novitiate in the Seraphic Order at the convent of Hornachos in the province of San Miguel de Estremadura. After finishing his studies and receiving Holy Orders he found himself at the age of 27 years. When the commissary of the college of Querétaro arrived in Spain to obtain recruits for the missions in Mexico, Fr. Diaz volunteered for the harder life of a missionary among the pagans. He was accepted and arrived at the college or seminary in 1763. On noticing the strictness with which the Seraphic Rule was observed his soul was filled with much consolation, for he had been among the most fervent in the mother province. As he was much given to prayer, and very zealous in hearing confessions and in preaching, he was chosen by his superiors to do missionary work in Sonora when that district was taken from the devoted Jesuits by the Masonic government of Spain and Mexico. With the other Fathers Fr. Juan Diaz proceeded to Tepic, and thence by way of San Blas and Guaimas reached San Miguel de Horecasitas in May, where the Fr. President assigned him to the mission of Purissima Concepcion de Caborca. From this place he attended the visita of Pitic, two leagues east, and the visita of Bisanig, six leagues west.

The Indians, about 1,145 altogether, were of the tribe of the Pimas. The work was too immense for one man, considering the people Fr. Diaz had to deal with, and the territory over which they were scattered. Employing firmness, fearlessness, and sweetness, as the occasions required, Fr. Juan nevertheless succeeded in bringing these slaves of evil passions to assist at the instructions, to work for their living, to build houses, and fortify their rancherías against enemies. When the Fr. President after six years visited the mission, he was astonished at the progress made in spiritual as well as temporal affairs.

Fr. Diaz was, therefore, selected to accompany Fr.

Garcés on the expedition which Captain Anza had been ordered to lead to Monterey. He went as far as San Diego, and then returned to the Colorado with Don Anza. When the college at one time ordered the Fr. President to hold a regular visitation of all the missions, Fr. Juan Diaz was subdelegated by the Fr. President to visit the eight missions of Pimería Baja, which he did in June 1775.

On account of his zeal, activity, and aptitude Fr. Diaz was himself appointed president or superior of the missions by the college. Fr. Arricivita does not state the time when Diaz held that office; but he must have been elected before the year 1778. (2) When De Croix ordered the Fathers to hasten to the Colorado to quiet the Indians, the Fr. President (3) called the missionaries together for a conference, as he was not willing to expose any of them to certain danger of death, unless he volunteered. Among those that offered to go was Fr. Diaz himself. It was then decided that he and Fr. Garcés proceed to the Yumas together. They accordingly started out on August 1st. After an attempt to proceed, Fr. Diaz had to stay behind at Sonoitac with the soldiers and cattle, because of the scarcity of water, whilst Fr. Garcés continued onward with two soldiers. During the month of October, however, he joined his companion, though the governor had asked the Fathers to abandon the plan of founding missions on account of the peril involved.

On arriving at the Colorado he saw the disappointed crowds of Indians who had expected to receive an abundance of tobacco, cloth, etc., which had been

(2) "Viendo el R. Padre guardian y V. Discretorio el zelo, actividad y acierto con que el padre" (Fr. Juan Diaz) "había desempeñado, no solo las tareas del ministerio, sino también las que se le habían encargado para el progreso del Instituto," (i. e. Querétaro College) "le nombraron presidente de aquellas misiones,"...."Y no les salió fallido este concepto, porque desempeñó con religiosidad el oficio."

(3) Most likely this Fr. President was Fr. Diaz himself.

promised them by De Croix; he therefore went back to Arizpe to see the Comandante General in person; but De Croix was not moved from his imprudent course by anything the missionary said. Two Spanish pueblos, instead of real missions, were to be established on the Colorado, and the pagan Indians might join these if they wished, otherwise the zealous missionaries were to find and instruct them wherever possible. The foolish project was carried out despite the protests of the Fathers. Fr. Diaz then, after soliciting some alms, returned to the Yumas, and took charge of the second pueblo, three leagues below the mouth of the Gila at which Fr. Garcés was stationed. The Fathers endeavored to make the most of these unfavorable circumstances; they spoke to the disgusted Indians of God and the welfare of their souls; but, says Arricivita, it was like singing a melody to a bloodthirsty tiger. Seeing that the places were doomed to destruction, the Fathers turned their attention to the Spaniards, and succeeded in getting them to frequent the Sacraments in order to be prepared for the coming storm which burst upon the settlement of San Pedro y San Pablo on the 17th of July 1781. The Fathers were among the first to fall under the deadly clubs of the savages. Fr. Diaz was forty-five years of age at the time; of these he had passed twenty-seven in religion, seventeen in the sacred ministry, and thirteen among the Indians. (4)

Fr. Jose Matias Moreno, a native of Almarza, diocese of Osma, Spain, was baptized on May 21th, 1744. His parents were Matías Moreno and Maria Catalina Gil. He was happy in having a pious and sensible sister, who by her example animated him to the love of every virtue. At the age of seventeen he took the holy habit in the convent of St. Francis at Logroño, province of Burgos, on June 22d, 1764. Aft^r

(4) Arricivita, 529-535.

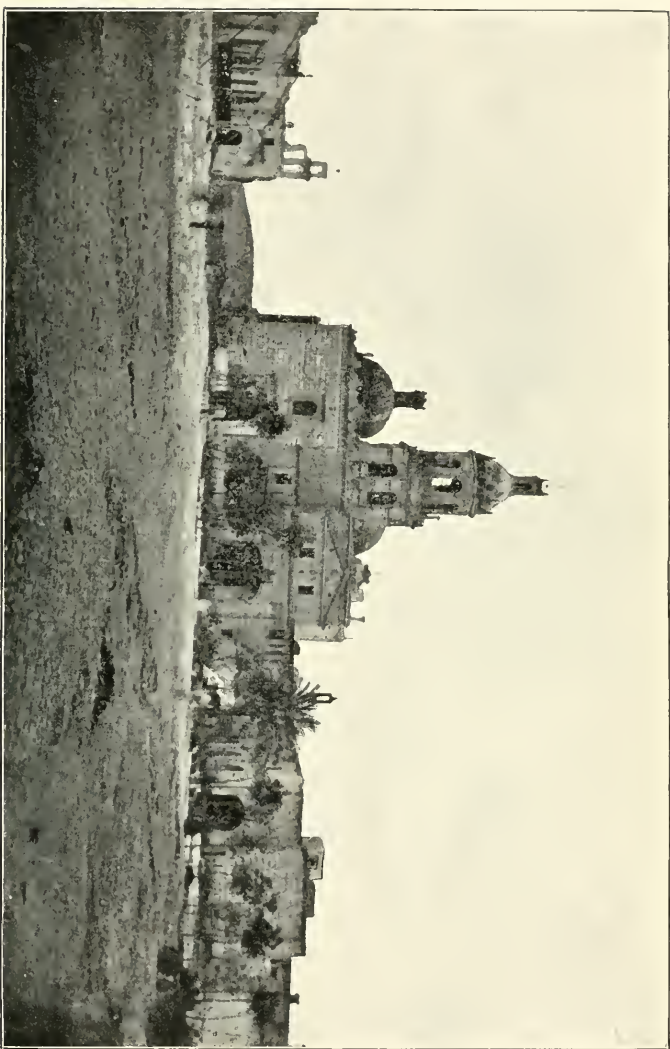
For his profession Moreno made the usual studies and was ordained priest.

When a petition arrived from the commissary asking for recruits to go to America in order to labor in the missions of the Querétaro college, Moreno volunteered and was accepted. Before leaving Madrid for the western hemisphere, he wrote the following beautiful letter to his sister which gives a good idea of his innocent soul, and of the spirit that pervaded the famous seraphic seminary of Santa Cruz, Querétaro.

“DEAR SISTER:—If you have ever co-operated in my holy desires as you did in my resolution to take the habit, for which I shall ever be grateful to you as doubly my sister, I can never esteem you more than now, when by the letter you write, I see you instructing me by your advice, and encouraging me by your joy. I never indeed expected less from your prudence, virtue, and love for me; nor should I comply with my duty to you, did I not tell you about the purpose, the college, and the motives of my vocation, and so I declare to you that I banish myself from our country, leave my parents, sever myself from my kindred and friends, solely for zeal for the faith, the conversion of souls, and a longing for martyrdom. I have very long battled with these desires; placing before me self-love and my own ease, the esteem I might enjoy in our own province, the posts of rector and other honorable ones which I might expect, the good I might do by preaching and example, health by no means robust, the grief of my parents, the hardships of so long a voyage, and the perils of the inconstant sea were all before me. They were motives which long prevented my writing to you; but finding no rest and unable to repel my desires for extending the faith, and for martyrdom, and finding them all to be the sophistry of self-love, I resolved to solicit admission, and such was my joy

on receiving my patent, that for the first time in a month I slept quietly; and such was my delight that many told me I must have received good news. Could it be aught else when I go to a college (5) where the observance of our seraphic rule and regular discipline are supremely strict and easy, and the opportunities of planting the faith of Christ and suffering martyrdom continues. In that college, sister, we are all equal. The Father Guardian goes to all the hours of choir and other community exercises like the humblest, even to the Matins which are indispensably at midnight. The community meditation lasts two hours, one at complin and one at Matins. The seclusion is as great as in the strictest convent, because no one can speak or enter another's cell except on the accustomed day, and then in determined places. The seclusion from seculars is great, as they never enter the convent, and we never leave except to go and hear confessions, and then only those deputed by the superior. To all is given what is necessary, without any distinction between the Guardian and the humblest. In fine the observance of the rule is most easy; its transgressions difficult; its labor easy to be borne, the Guardian being the first in them. The opportunities for spreading the faith of Christ and suffering martyrdom, so longed for by our Fathers St. Francis, St. Anthony, and other Saints of the Order, you may consider must be frequent in the twenty-eight missions of the college, amid the remote and savage regions of Texas and Sonora, where many have died with the palm of martyrs, and the conversions are great. It is true that there is much hardship, hunger and thirst, intolerable heat and painful journeys, but what is this in comparison with what the souls cost Christ? Unless some are a-

(5) The college of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, was not a college as we understand the term, but a seminary for the education of missionaries who were to labor principally among the Indians.




COLLEGIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, QUERRETARO.

rouse^d to the spiritual conquest of these souls, they will constantly fall into the nets of Satan. So I commend myself to God, to give me strength to bear them and all the hardships of embarkation, and to grant a safe voyage besides the health and grace necessary for so holy an enterprise.”

With the other volunteers Moreno left the port of Santa Maria, about March 1769, and after a voyage extending to November reached Querétaro. At the college he was among the most exact observers of the Rule. At his own request he was sent to Sonora as supernumerary. The Fr. President soon discovered his valuable qualities and employed him around his own mission, where the young Father exercised himself in teaching the catechism and in learning the Indian language, until the pueblo of San Pedro y San Pablo was established on the Colorado, when Moreno was made assistant to Fr. Juan Diaz. There his desire for martyrdom was satisfied on July 17th, 1781. His body with that of Fr. Diaz lay unburied for five months. When discovered the head was missing, but the remains were recognized by the survivors from his patched habit, his cord, and the crucifix which Moreno always wore on his breast. Both bodies were placed in one coffin and transferred to Tubutama for burial, whence in 1794 they were removed to the mother college at Querétaro. (6)

(6) Arricivita 536-540.



CHAPTER XVI.

FOUNDING OF THE CUSTODIA DE SAN CARLOS—MAGNANIMITY OF THE DE FINITORS—DEATH OF THE FIRST CUSTOS—HIS SUCCESSOR—THE STATUTES—PETITION OF THE FATHERS—THE COLLEGE OF QUERETARO—DISSOLUTION OF THE CUSTODY—INDIAN PRIESTS—FRANCISCAN BISHOPS IN SONORA.

While the events related in the last chapters occurred, the Fathers at the missions in other parts of Pimería Alta as zealously as ever devoted themselves to the work of improving their wards in both spiritual and temporal matters. The Religions were without exception men of solid virtue and learning; each one a credit to the mother college that sent them forth. Of not one could it be truly said, Arrievita proudly declares, that he had brought the least shame upon the sacred ministry. This happy state of affairs was largely due to the canonical visitations which were held regularly, and which preserved the religious spirit in the missionaries. Six new Fathers arrived before the year 1779 to take the place of deceased or infirm missionaries.

Nothing of importance is on record down to the year 1779, when on May 7th Pope Pius VI. erected the diocese of Sonora which was to embrace Sinaloa and Sonora with Upper and Lower California. The Franciscan Father Antonio de los Reyes, formerly himself a member of the Querétaro college and a missionary in Sonora, whose report of the missions is given in Chapter VI., was appointed first Bishop of the new diocese on December 12th, 1780. He was consecrated at Tucubaya, Mexico, on the 15th of September, 1782. The new Bishop reached his flock

in the next year, and chose Arizpe, Sonora, as his place of residence.

The Bishop's arrival was awaited by the missionaries with no little concern, for he had been authorized by King Charles III. to form the Franciscan missions of his diocese into two independent custodies, an arrangement the Fathers did not desire. Concerning the custody to be formed in Sonora under the patronage of St. Charles, the Fr. Guardian of the college at Querétaro received a decree directly from King Carlos III. dated Aranjuez, Spain, May 20th, 1782, together with a copy of the statutes of the new custody prepared by Fr. Manuel de la Vega, Franciscan Commissary General for the Indies.

The Guardian was thereby informed of the decision of the king, and commanded not to put any obstacles in the way, but to see that the missionaries from his college observed the royal mandate which it was claimed would redound to the service of God and the king. In reply the Fr. Guardian with his definitors declared that they would comply with the king's wishes, and that the missionaries of their college would likewise obey and observe the statutes as arranged by the Commissary General.

This royal order was a sword with two edges, says Arricivita. One cut off from the seminary all its missions which were the principal reason for which the college existed, since it was a seminary for the education of apostolic priests who, according to the intention of its venerable founders, were to labor for the propagation of the faith among the gentiles.

The other edge cut off the missions and its missionaries from their base of supplies in a material as well as in a spiritual sense. Thus all that had been achieved at the cost of untold hardships and sufferings, in order to put the missions on a solid

basis, was doomed to destruction. For naturally the province could not raise a sufficient number of novices to replace the Fathers that died at their post, or became incapacitated through age or infirmity.

Hence the Guardian and his consultors thought themselves obliged to humbly state these and other facts to the viceroy. Their statement was communicated to the representative of the new Bishop, who had not as yet arrived, and together with his reply forwarded to the king of Spain. Despite the weighty reasons offered by the college, the royal decree was ordered to be executed and the custody erected. This was probably the only instance of its kind in the history of the Seraphic Order: a king decreeing the organization of a religious province against the will and better judgement of those concerned!

As soon as the new Bishop reached Sonora, he sent a circular letter to all the missions, informing the missionaries of his powers and faculties. At the same time he called the Querétaranos and Xaliscans to meet in his apartments at Mission de Ures. In obedience to this order, fifteen Fathers, including their respective presidents or superiors, assembled on the 23d of October, 1783. The Bishop's secretary then read the decree of the king, in which his lordship was delegated to found the Custodia de San Carlos, together with a letter of the Most Rev. Fr. Commissary General for the Indies, which remarkably enough authorized the Bishop to appoint the first custos and four definítors.

Thereupon the Bishop questioned the president of the Querétaro Fathers: "What have you to say?" The Father replied, "I obey the orders of his majesty and of our Most Rev. Commissary General for the Indies, and acknowledge your Lordship as true delegate." The Fr. President of the Xaliscan Franciscans answered in similar terms. The other Fathers did likewise; no one made any objections. They had

presented their opinions and objections to the proper authority before; their objections had been strangely enough overruled; there was nothing left for them to do but to bow to the inevitable, no matter how unreasonable the whole transaction might appear to their experienced minds. Almighty God must see to the consequences. They were men of strong faith, those missionaries in both Pimerías, therefore obedience to strange regulations, in which they had had no voice, was not so difficult after all.

The Bishop immediately exercised his extraordinary powers by appointing as first custos of the new Custody of San Carlos in Sonora the Rev. Fr. Sebastian Flores, one of the fourteen missionaries his lordship had brought over from Spain. Fr. Sebastian had been twice Guardian of the college, but he was a new man and unacquainted with the state of these missions.

The four Fathers named by the Bishop as definitors were Fathers Roque Monares, Francisco Jurado, Francisco Barbastro, till then president of the Pimería Alta missions, and Antonio Ahumada, up to that date president of the Pimería Baja or Xaliscoan missions.

On the following day the new custos and the definitors assembled in the apartments of the Bishop, and at his direction elevated nine of the missions to the rank of a hospice or convent. The hospice of Bonamichi was chosen as the principal house. The boundaries of each hospice was described, and the friars or pastors were then appointed for all the missions and hospices of the custody.

The new custody at its foundation was composed of nine hospices or convents, sixteen missions, and twenty-five pueblos de visita or mission stations. The missions and hospices were in charge of thirty-four Fathers, eight of whom were from the Querétaro College, twelve from the Xalisco Province, and

fourteen were new-comers who had arrived from Spain with the Bishop. Twenty other Fathers declined to be incorporated into the new custody, because they did not wish to sever their connection with the college or province.

From the beginning serious difficulties confronted the Fathers which the new custos and his counselors placed before the Bishop at the same chapter. Thus they declared impossible the observance of the following point in the statutes of the new custody:

“The four definitors should likewise be the discretors of the principal house; they should have a *voluntum*, *consultivum* and *decisivum* in all important affairs of the custody; and all that may be determined upon without the knowledge or consent of the majority of the definitors shall be null and void.” It was impossible, the Fathers declared, for all the definitors to reside at the hospice of Bonamichi which could barely maintain one missionary notwithstanding the alms of the sínodo. Besides it was absolutely necessary for two of the definitors, Fathers Ahumada and Barbastro, to return to their respective missions, because there were none to take their places. Hence the statute which required the definitors to reside at Bonamichi, or at least near it, would have to be altered.

With all his powers the Rt. Rev. Delegate found it no easy matter to put his ideas into practise; for at the very founding of the custody his lordship discovered that the most essential statutes which he had devised for the government of the custody must be set aside.

This is the more remarkable as the Bishop only a decade before had himself been a missionary in that very province, and therefore should have been acquainted with its needs. He now yielded to a compromise proposed by the definitors. In their unselfishness and magnanimity they proposed to waive

their rights of being consulted, in order to leave the custos unhampered, and to allow him to direct and govern as he saw fit. The Bishop agreed to this arrangement, and thus Fathers Ahumada and Barbastro were free to return to their respective missions eighty leagues distant.

The Custody of San Carlos had been founded, and enjoyed a nominal existence for two months, when the first custos, Fr. Sebastian Flores, died on January 6th, 1784, while at Mission de Ures. By virtue of the statute providing for such an emergency, the definitors assembled for the election of a vice-custos to fill the unexpired term of the deceased superior. Fr. Francisco Barbastro, having received the votes of all the definitors, was declared vice-custos or superior of the province of San Carlos. The newly elected custos had been president of those missions before. He had been a missionary himself, and therefore possessed the experience necessary to govern the religious and their missions in the lamentable conditions under which the province suffered.

Fr. Barbastro soon discovered that the custos could establish nothing, nor his subjects observe any of the new regulations forced upon them. He therefore explained the matter to the definitors who agreed with him that the statutes were well enough in a civilized and Christianized community, but altogether out of place in their missions. They also agreed that it would be impossible to continue the custody on account of the extreme poverty of the country. The arrangement had been given a trial for five years, and therefore they proposed that steps be taken to have the custody dissolved, in order that the missions could be again taken care of as before by the Querétaro College and the Province of Xalisco.

The custos, thereupon, informed the Most Rev. Commisary General for the Indies, Fr. Manuel Maria Truxillo, of their unanimous opinion, and petitioned

for the dissolution of the custody. The Commissary General in turn referred the matter to the supreme council of the Indies, which upon examination suspended all elections prescribed by the statutes of the custody, and for the present directed Fr. Barbastro to govern as he might find possible.

Since the statutes had been found impossible of observance, things in the missions had remained pretty much the same as before. The naming of the custos, definitors, and vicars had produced little or no change in the government of the religious, because all had remained under their former superior. No changes had been made in the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Indians at the respective missions, as the new statutes made no mention of them; nor were any changes effected among the missionaries, for one of the statutes directed "that no one should leave his mission until the *definitorium* had appointed another for the place." Each Father had remained at his post and conducted the affairs of the mission as before.

A vital change took place in another direction, however. The missions had formerly been supplied by the college or province with missionaries, and it also had maintained them. This was stopped. The custody had to depend upon its own resources which were insufficient. There could be no recruits expected from the people, who were either uncivilized or only have civilized, and it was too costly to import them from Spain; thus the new custody was doomed from the beginning. For charity's sake the mother college, when informed of the death or infirmity of a Religious, would indeed, help out the mission by sending another Father, lest the neophytes scatter and the mission be wrecked. In this way, says Fr. Arricivita, even the Indians on the Gila were not neglected, but visited and cared for as well as possible. However, the college could not be expected to pro-

vide missionaries forever. Naturally the Fathers were much disturbed because of their helplessness.

During this whole period the college observed a discreet silence regarding the difficulties under which her sons suffered since the new arrangement went into effect; nevertheless the petitions of the Fathers in Sonora were brought to the knowledge of the same king who had ordered the custody to be organized. Referring to such a petition of Fr. Barbastro, his majesty under date of July 16th, 1790, addressed a letter to the Guardian and disretes of the Querétaro College, requesting them to investigate the matter, and to take such steps as they might consider to be in keeping with the royal intent. After examining the circumstances carefully, the college authorities reported in accordance with the wishes of the custos, Fr. Barbastro, and advised the dissolution of the custody in order to save the missions from destruction. The reasons given were: the poverty of the country; the hostility of the Indians; the founding of many convents which could be only poor missions with one Father; the want of subsistence for the religious; the impossibility of obtaining novices as recruits in the missions so that the custody must eventually die out; the costliness of bringing missionaries from Spain. Finally the college declared that in planning a custody, and in bringing the project before the king and before Rome, the new Bishop had not represented nor expressed the wishes of the college or missionaries, but merely his own ideas which had been found impracticable.

Accordingly, on the 17th of August, 1791, the king declared the custody dissolved and the old order of things restored. In California, owing to the opposition of the Fathers and the great distance from the Bishop, the custody never took shape. Bishop Antonio de los Reyes did not live to see the dissolution of the custody, for he died on March 6th, 1778.

Another Franciscan, Fr. José Joaquín Granados, succeeded him, and governed the diocese of Sonora from 1787 to 1794, when he was transferred to Durango; but he died before taking possession of the new episcopal see. The most noted occurrence of his administration was the ordaining of two natives as priests at Alamos, an event celebrated by the native population with dancing and other festivities as a notable step in the annals of the race. The next Bishop, also a Franciscan, was Fr. Damian Martínez de Galinzoga, who ruled from 1794 to 1795, when he was transferred to Tarragona, Spain. (1) The fourth Bishop was a Franciscan from the Zacatecas college, Fr. Francisco de Jesus Rousset, who governed the bishopric from 1796 to 1814, when he died. (2)

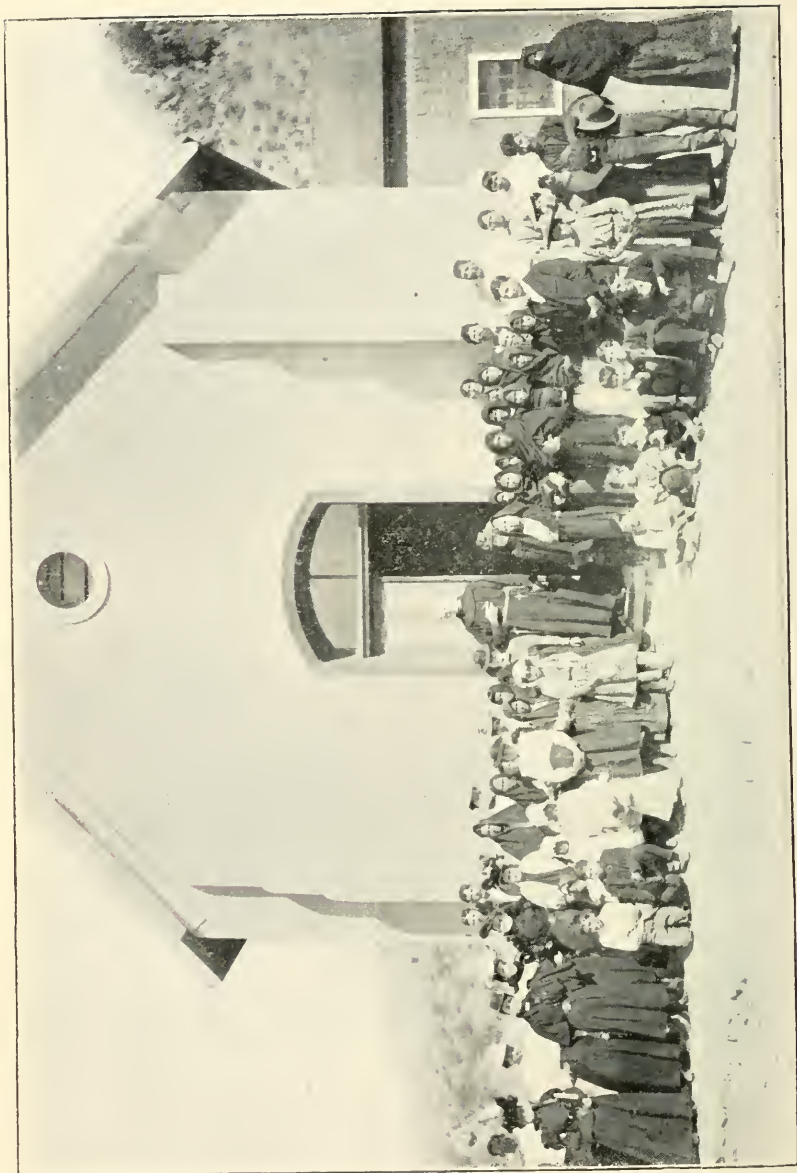
(1) Arrievita, 562-575; Bancroft, *Hist. Texas and North Mexican States I*, 712-713; 719-720; "Franciscans in California," 88; 106.

(2) He was consecrated at Zacatecas by the Bishop of Guadalajara on August 5th, 1796. (Bancroft has 1799.) Bishop Rousset was a native of Havana. He was professed at Zacatecas on May 3, 1775, and became one of the most zealous missionaries in Tuahumara. Fue "Obispo ejemplarísimo, y muy celoso de los derechos de la Iglesia, por cuya defensa padeció mucho." He died on December 29, 1814. *Sotamayor*, 475-476.





FR. KILIAN SCHLÖESSER, O. F. M.



CHAPEL AT TEMPE.

PART SECOND.

LOCAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

ARRICIVITA'S "CRONICA SERAFICA"—MISSIONS AND VISITAS—MISSION DE CABORCA—FR. AMB. CALZADA—FR. PEDRO FONT—FR. IBANEZ—MISSION DE ATI—FR. FELIX GAMARRA—MISSION DE TUBUTAMA—FR. GUILLEN—MISSION DE SARIC—MISSION DE CABURICA—FR. CARRASCO—MISSION DE SUMACA—MISSION DE GUEVAVI—TUMACACORI—MISSION SAN XAVIER DEL BAC—TUCSON—STATE OF THE MISSION—CHURCH OF SAN XAVIER AND ITS BUILDERS.

There is little on record concerning the local events of the several missions in Pimería Alta. What could be learned is given here mostly upon the authority of Bancroft, as Arriçivita's "Cronica Serafica," which brings the record down to the year 1791, was published at Mexico in 1792. (1) For other particulars see chapters III and VI.

(1) Bancroft, History North Mexican States, 720 says of this work: "Arriçivita's standard chronicle of the mission work of the Santa Cruz College Querétaro, was published in 1792 in Mexico, bringing the record down to 1791. The first book of 157 pages is occupied with the life of P. Antonio Margil de Jesus, including some historical material for the northern regions. The second book, pages 158-320, gives the early mission annals of Nueva Leon, Coahuila, and Texas in the form of biographical sketches of half a dozen leading friars of the college. Twelve chapters of book III, pages 321-333, are devoted to the Texas missions; and the remainder of the work is occupied almost exclusively with the Franciscan annals of Sonora, ON WHICH SUBJECT IT IS BEYOND COMPARISON THE BEST AUTHORITY.

"As indicated in the title page, Cronica Serafica Y Apologetica Del Colegio De Propaganda Fide De La Santa Cruz De Queretaro"....Eserita Por

MISSION PURISIMA CONCEPCION DE CABORCA.

This mission with its two visítas, San Antonio Pitiquí and Nuestra Señora del Populo, (or San Juan del Bisanig), in 1782 still had 1,265 Indians. There was no church nor house for the missionary at Pitiquí, Bancroft tells us; but Arricivita declares: "Se han fabricado de cal y ladrillo de bóveda las iglesias de San Ignacio, Tubutama, y del *Pitiqui*," the Fathers constructed a church of brick and mortar at that station. The church at Caborca was also renovated by the Fathers. Fr. Juan Diaz, one of the victims in the Colorado massacre of 1780, was the first Franciscan stationed at Caborca from 1768 to 1773. His successors were Fr. Antonio Calzada 1773-1782, when he died on December 20th; (2) Fr. José Soler 1773; Fr. Clemente Moreno 1775-1781; Fr. José Maria Espinosa 1776; Fr. Juan Gorgol 1772-1786; Fr. Francisco H. Garcés 1779; Fr. Antonio Ramos 1781-1792; Fr. José Mora 1790-1793; Fr. Angel Collazo 1792-1794; Fr. Lorenzo Simó 1794-1795; Fr. Alonso Prado 1796-1797; Fr. Andrés Sanchez 1796-1803; Fr. Pablo Mota 1797-1798; Fr. Ramon Lopez 1799-1800; Fr. Pedro Font 1779-1781, who died in the latter year; (3) Fr. Francisco Moyano 1785-1790; Fr. Francisco Iturralde 1778; Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbas-

el P. Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita. SECUNDA PARTE, Mexico 1792, this work was a second part. The first part was: "Cronica Apostolica Y Seraphica," Escrita Por El P. Fr. Isidoro Felix de Espinosa, PARTE PRIMERA, Mexico 1746. Padre Espinosa's work covers a wider range of territory than that of Arricivita, which was intended as a supplement. The two works together form one of the best of the old missionary chronicles. The works are very rare as well as valuable."

(2) Fr. Ambrosio Calzada had been a member of the Franciscan province of Burgos, Spain, before joining the Querétaro missionary college in 1770. After passing over to the Sonora missions Fr. Calzada labored with much zeal among the natives until he lost the use of his limbs through a stroke of paralysis. He suffered from this misfortune until his death on December 20th, 1782. Arricivita 561-562.

(3) Fr. Pedro Font came to the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, from the province of Catalonia. At his own request he was sent to the missions of Sonora in 1773, and assigned to Mission San José de Pimas, which had been recently elevated to the rank of a mission. Fr. Font consequently had to suffer a great deal for want of things that are usually

to 1786; Fr. Mariano Bordoy 1796; Fr. Florencio Ibañez 1796. (4)

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO DE ATI.

There was only one station, San Antonio Oquitoa or Aquitoa, attached to this mission. During their administration the Franciscans repaired and renovated the churches at Ati and Oquitoa. The Fathers that labored here among the Indians and a few settlers were the following: Fr. José Soler 1768-1774; Fr. Felipe Guillen 1773; Fr. José Maria Espinosa 1773-1775; Fr. Juan Gorgol 1773-1787; Fr. Antonio Ramos 1774-1775; Fr. Eizarch 1776-1781; Fr. Felix Gamarra, 1777-1779, when he died at Tubutama; (5) Fr. Clemente Moreno 1789; Fr. Juan Baptist Llorenes 1787-1790; Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbastro 1789; Fr. Francisco Moyano 1790-1817; Fr. Pedro Amorós 1796; Fr. Ramon Lopez 1797-1798; Fr. José Gomez 1797-1798. Of these some doubtless were only visitors. (6)

MISSION SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DE TUBUTAMA.

Fr. President Mariano Buena took charge of this mission and its visita, Santa Teresa, in 1768; but he was soon succeeded by Fr. José del Rio 1768-1769. The other Fathers serving here according to the re-

abundant at older missions. In January 1775 he was chosen to accompany Don Juan B. Anza's expedition to the Port of San Francisco as chaplain. The trip lasted till June 1776. On his return, he found his mission had been ceded to the Jaliscans, wherefore he proceeded to the visita de Santa Maria Magdalena. Thence obedience placed him at Mission del Pitte. Arricivita, 560-561.

(4) Fr. Ibañez, after being a member of the Queretaro College for 17 years, rejoined San Fernando College Mexico, when he was sent to California, where he died at Soledad in 1818. Vide Franciscans in California: 382. Some of the Fathers named doubtless were only visitors who administered the Sacraments while at the mission. Arricivita, 448; Bancroft, Hist. Texas I, 724.

(5) Fr. Felix Gamarra was a native of Spain and had belonged to the Franciscan province of Cantabria. While still a deacon he urgently begged to be sent to the American missions, and reached the college of Queretaro in 1779. After serving in several humble positions he was ordained priest and sent to Sonora, where he labored among the Indians until May 1779, when he was stricken down by a malignant fever. He died fortified with the Sacraments in the thirty-second year of his life. Arricivita, 560. (6) Bancroft, Hist. Tex. I, 724.

gisters were: Fr. Estévan Salazar 1769-1772; Fr. José Maria Espinosa 1773-1774; (?) (7) Fr. Felipe Guillen 1774-1778, in which latter year he was murdered by the Indians on his way from Santa Teresa to Atí; (8) Fr. Manuel Carrasco who died at Magdalena 1776; Fr. Francisco A. Barbastro 1778-1783; Fr. Francisco Iturralde 1784; Fr. Francisco Moyano 1788-1796; Fr. Bartolomé Socies 1791; and Fr. José Gomez 1800. At Tubutama the Fathers, especially through Fr. Guillen's efforts, erected and nicely ornamented a brick church. Fr. Gamarra of Atí died at this mission in 1779. The bodies of the Colorado Martyrs rested here from 1781 to 1794, when they were transferred to Querétaro. (9)

MISSION DOLORES DE SARIC.

Very little is known of this mission; not even the names of the missionaries are on record. San José de Aquimuri was the only station or visita. Saric was plundered by the savages in 1776, but the church was saved. Fr. Florencio Ibañez was the missionary from 1783-1790. The visita was abandoned before 1784. (10)

MISSION SAN IGNACIO DE CABURICA.

The Fathers erected a brick church at San Ignacio, and continued in charge of the two stations San

(7) Vide preceding mission.

(8) Fr. Felipe Guillen was a native of Piles, Valencia, Spain. He renounced very flattering worldly prospects and took the habit of St. Francis in the province of Valencia. After the usual studies he was ordained priest, and later in 1769 was among the forty religious whom the Fr. Commissary had collected in Spain for the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro. After giving proof of his fitness for the missions by his fervent observance of the rules at the college, Fr. Felipe was permitted to enter the missionary field of Texas. He remained two years at Mission San Francisco. When the Texas missions were ceded to the Zacatecan Fathers Fr. Guillen returned to the college, but he was soon despatched to Sonora, where he was stationed at Tubutama. There he taught the Christian Doctrine morning and evening to the natives in both the Spanish and Pima tongue like the other missionaries. At the time of his death, April 27th, 1778, Fr. Guillen was 41 years of age, of which he passed nine in the missions. Arriévita, 524-529.

(9) Bancroft, Hist. Texas, I, 724; Shea, Hist. Cath. Church, Vol. IV 288-342; Arriévita, 418. (10) Bancroft, Hist. Texas, I, 724.

José Imuris and Santa Maria Magdalena. In 1776 Magdalena was attacked and nearly destroyed by the rebel Apaches.

The following Religious were in charge of the mission at different times: Fr. Diego Martin García 1768-1772; Fr. Francisco S. Zuñiga 1772-1780; Fr. Manuel Carrasco 1774-1776, when he died on May 9th; (11) Fr. Pedro Arriquibar 1780-1794; Fr. Francisco Tobas 1796-1799; Fr. José Perez 1799 et seq. (12)

MISSION SANTA MARIA DE SUAMCA.

Fr. Francisco Roche in June 1768 took charge of this mission and its visita Santiago de Cocóspera. In November of the same year the mission was destroyed by the Apaches, after a hard flight with the Pima neophytes; wherefore the Father transferred his flock to Cocóspera, which also suffered from the savages in the same year. A church was in course of erection in 1772, but the location was not a good one. The missionary intended to restore the mission on a good site nearer Terrenate; but as late as 1784 Suamca had not been reoccupied, and was probably never rebuilt. There were 110 Indians still attached to the mission in 1772. (13)

MISSION SANTOS ANGELES DE GUEVAVI.

This mission was one of the two situated in what is now the Territory of Arizona. It lay one league from the presidio of Tubac. In 1769 it was attacked at midday by the Apaches. Before 1791 a new roof

(11) Fr. Manuel Carrasco was a native of Spain, and received the habit of the Seraphic Order in the province of San Miguel de Estremadura. He was incorporated into the College of Querétaro in 1770 when twenty-seven years of age. After residing at the college for three years, Fr. Manuel was sent to Sonora where he labored nearly always in ill health. He died at the visita of Santa Maria Magdalena on the 9th of May 1776, at the age of thirty-three. Arricivita, 50.

Arricivita also mentions Fr. Joaquin Velarde as having died in a mission of Pimeria Alta, the name of which he omits. Fr. Velarde came from the province of Cantabria. He died in March 1781. Arricivita, Ibid.

(12) Bancroft, Hist. Texas, I, 723-724; Arricivita, 448.

(13) Bancroft, Hist. Texas, I, 723.

was put on the church building, though it ceased to be a mission about the year 1784, when the missionary in charge removed to Tumacácori. Under the administration of the Franciscans adobe houses for the Indians and a wall for their protection were erected. A new church of adobe was also built at Tumacácori much after the style of San Javier's at Bac.

Fr. Gil de Bernave was the first Franciscan who resided at Guevavi. He arrived in 1768, and from here attended the *visítas* of Tumacácori, Calabazas, and San Ignacio de Sonoita, together with the presidio of Tubac. Fr. Gil remained till 1772, when he was succeeded by Fr. Baltazar Carillo, it seems.

Tumacacori, or San José, became the residence of the missionary about 1784 or earlier, when Guevavi was deserted together with San Ignacio de Sonoita or Sonoitac across the line in Mexico. The name of the latter is still retained, but Guevavi opposite Calabazas seems to have disappeared from modern maps. At Sonoitac the Franciscan Fathers had erected a new brick church, but this did not prevent the abandoning of the place. Tumacácori for a long time was a flourishing mission. Before 1791 a new roof was put on the church building, and many other improvements made. Houses of adobe for the Indians and a wall of the same material for the protection of the mission were likewise constructed. A new church of adobe was built in the beginning of the eighteenth century and completed, it seems, in 1822. It is now only a mass of ruins on the west bank of the Santa Cruz River.

Fr. Baltazar Carillo was stationed at Tumacácori until 1798 or 1799, when he died. Fr. Narciso Gutierrez was the next missionary, and he also resided here until his death which occurred probably in 1820. Fr. Ramon Liberos then took charge of the mission, as we may gather from the following note found in the mission records: "I, Fr. Ramon Liberos, mission-

ary at the mission of San José de Tumacácori, on the 13th of December, 1822, transferred the remains of the Rev. Baltazar Carillo and the Rev. Narciso Gutierrez from the old church to the new one, and buried them in the sanctuary on the Gospel side. Fr. Ramon Liberos." (14)

Calabazas, or San Cayetano, the only pueblo de visita which seems to have survived 1784, had 64 neophytes in 1772, but no church nor a house for the missionary; these were erected before 1791, however. In 1828 Calabazas is mentioned as a rancho near which some poor people worked a gold mine.

Tubac is a name that appears as a presidio in 1752. About the years 1814-1824 the place is denominated both presidio and "pueblo y mission." In 1821 the books were inspected by the Bishop of Sonora. The spiritual wants were attended to by the Fathers of the adjoining mission of Guevavi, and later from Tumacácori. (15)

SAN XAVIER DEL BAC.

Bac, (16) or San Xavier del Bac, known as a rancheña since the seventeenth century, became a mission about 1732, or perhaps 1720. It is situated in the Santa Cruz Valley, about nine miles south of Tucson, Arizona, and was founded by the Jesuit Fathers for the Pápago Indians. (17)

For several years after its establishment by the Jesuits it had no resident priest, but was attended from Guevavi. The population must have been considerable, judging from the number of Baptisms administered between the years 1720 and 1767. During this period, according to the baptismal records, twen-

(14) "Soldiers of the Cross," 181. (15) Bancroft, Hist. Texas 723; Hist. Arizona, 382-384; Arricivita, 396; 448.

(16) The word Bac in the language of the natives means a place where there is water. (17) Pápago means "cut hair," thus designating Indians who cut their hair, i. e. Christians. The Yuma men to this day let the hair grow and hang down to the hips.

ty-two Jesuit missionaries successsively administered the Sacraments at San Xavier.

In June 1768 the mission was committed to the care of Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, O. F. M., who was in charge until 1778, when he removed to the Colorado River. (18) Fr. José del Rio is named as *companero* of Fr. Garcés, and he may have served at Bac, though his own mission station, 1768-1769, was Tubutama in Sonora. In 1770-1771 Fr. José went to Mexico in behalf of the Pimería Alta missions. Fr. Baltasar Carrillo was superior of the mission at Bac from May 22d, 1780-1794. His successor as superior was the former assistant, Fr. Narcisso Gutierrez, who remained in charge until 1799. His assistants successively were Fathers Mariano Bordoy, Ramon Lopez, and Angel Alonzo de Prado. Fr. Pedro Arriquibar probably was the resident missionary in 1819, for his name appears on the Tubac register as chaplain of Tucson. (19) What other Fathers were stationed at San Xavier it is impossible to state, for there are no records extant of the period beginning with the third decade. (20)

Tucson, or San José de Tucson, since the year 1763 was a visita of Bac. In 1772 it was still without either church or priest's house. It was situated in a fertile locality where a large number of pagan and Christian Indians had congregated.

The population in that year was estimated at over

(18) See chapters XII and XIII.
Hist. Arizona, 379-381.

(19) Arriquivita, 396; 448; Bancroft,

(20) According to Bancroft a writer in the Tucson "Dos Republicas" of Sept. 16, 1877, who has apparently examined some of the mission registers, names the following Fathers as having served in Arizona between 1768-1828: Francisco Garcés, Juan Diaz, Jose Matias Moreno, Juan Antonio Barraneche, Bartolomé Jimenez, Gaspar de Clemente, Juan Carzoll, Clemente Moreno, Clemente Rijarch, Pedro Arriquibar. Juan B. Nelderrain, Joaquin Antonio Velarde, Baltasar Carrillo, Narciso Gutierrez, Mariano Bordoy, Ramon Lopez, Ramon Liberos, Juan Maldonado, and Rafael Diaz, who was in charge of San Agustin del Pueblito de Tucson in 1826. It is to be noted that this list does not include Fr. Gil de Bernave, the original missionary of Guevavi, nor Fr. Juan B. Estelric who both belonged to Arizona. Banc. Hist. Ariz. 179-380

200 families. Many of these seem to have been subsequently scattered, as in 1774 there were found only eighty families of Pima Indians. According to Arricivita "the Apaches have always sought to destroy a small rancheria at Tucson, it being the point of entry for their irruptions; but by the efforts of Father Francisco Garcés a pueblo was built there, with a church, house for the missionary, and a wall for defence; and it is to-day a presidio of Spaniards." (21) The presidio was removed there from Tubac in or before 1777, so that the date of the founding of Tucson as a Spanish settlement may be set down as 1776.

The church, like that of Bac, was of brick and *de bovedas*. "The Indians were quartered in a little pueblo adjoining the presidio, and called from this time "San Augustin del pueblito de Tucson." The presidio was sometimes also called San Agustin. Father Rafael Diaz was in charge of San Augustin del Pueblito de Tucson in 1826; he probably left the place in the following year.

On the arrival of the Franciscans the Indians were scattered and had forgotten their catechism, as we had occasion to relate before; but they consented to return if not compelled to work. Before the end of the year 1768 the mission was destroyed by Apaches, who killed the native chief, or mission governor, and captured two soldiers. Fr. Garcés lay sick at Guevavi when this occurred. In several subsequent raids the mission live-stock disappeared, but after 1772 lost ground was more than regained, though Fr. Garcés was for a large part of the time engaged in northern and western explorations.

"The official report of 1772 shows a population of 270 on the registers, and describes the adobe church as moderately capacious, but poorly supplied with furniture and vestments. (22)

(21) Arricivita, 448.

(22) Bancroft, Hist. Arizona, 381 382.

The church above the front door bears the date of 1797, which is probably the year of its completion. The building was probably begun soon after the date of the reports on which Arrievita based his account, and completed in the last decade of the century. There is a tradition that the church was built on the site of the old Jesuit church; that its construction occupied fourteen years, and that two brothers Gaona were the builders under the supervision of the Fathers. (23) No mention is made of their names in any record. "Nor did those true sons of humble St. Francis put on the walls any mark that could manifest their personal merit to future generations. What they did was to place the coat-of-arms of their Order on the frontispiece of the church, as if to say to us: We poor Religious of St. Francis, unknown to you, have built this for you; pray for us! The missionaries who had left their country to go after the conquest of souls for heaven, were not working for fame or any personal interest. What they aimed at was to please God in the discharge of their duties, leaving to Him to take note of the little good they might be able to do." Nevertheless, if the tradition about the time spent in constructing the church be right, we can raise the veil of humility by looking at the names of the missionaries of whom mention is made in the church records during that period.

"According to this tradition the present church, which replaced the old one left by the Jesuits, was commenced in 1783, during the administration of Fr. Baltasar Carrillo, O. F. M., whose name is mentioned in the records from May 22d, 1780, to 1794. His successor as superior of the mission was his assistant priest, Fr. Narciso Gutierrez, O. F. M., who remained in charge until 1799, having successively as assistants his Brethren in religion Fathers Mariano

(23) Banc. Hist. Arizona, 381; "Soldiers of the Cross" 182.

Bordoy, Ramon Lopez, and Alonzo de Prado. We may therefore safely conclude that to the Fathers named, and especially to the two superiors, the still rich and elegant church of San Xavier del Bac owes its existence." This effectually disposes of the assertion that the structure was erected by the Jesuit Fathers. (24)

Bancroft, too, (25) says: "All the churches of Pimería Alta at this period are described as of adobe, covered with wood, grass, and earth. Arricivita, writing in 1791, mentions on one page (26) that the Franciscans have built here adobe houses for the natives and walls for defence against the Apaches; but though specifying somewhat minutely the various churches that had been built or repaired, he says nothing of such work at Bac. In a similar statement on another page, however, he includes Bac, as well as Tucson, among the places where churches of brick had been built. (27) Yet I think the chronicler would not have dismissed with so slight a notice the magnificent structure still standing at San Xavier, which has elicited many a description from modern visitors."

Fathers Baltasar Carrillo and Narciso Gutierrez were not permitted to remain at San Xavier until the end of their useful career. Both were assigned, one after the other, to the mission of Tumacácori, where they died. In erecting San Xavier del Bac as also in building the church at Tumacácori tradition has it that the Fathers employed two brothers by the name of Gaona. Whether these were in any way connected with the Franciscan Order it is impossible to say. (28)

(24) "Mission of San Xavier del Bac," pages 7-9; "Soldiers of the Cross," 182.

(25) Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona*, 350. (26) Arricivita, 448. (27) *Ibid.* "Todas de ladrillo y bóvedas."

(28) "San Xavier del Bac." 8.

CHAPTER II.

SAN XAVIER'S MODERN HISTORY—MEANS TO BUILD CHURCHES—DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH—SECULARIZATION.

Before giving a description of the beautiful church of San Xavier del Bac, south of Tucson, Arizona, a little must be said of the modern history of the mission subsequent to the expulsion of the Franciscans. It remained without a priest for a long time. Though never abandoned by the Bishop of Sonora, but placed in charge of the parish priest of Magdalena, the Indians saw a minister of God only on rare occasions. This state of things lasted until 1859. At that time the territory of Arizona was attached to the diocese of Santa Fé, New Mexico, whose Bishop, the Rt. Rev. J. B. Lamy saw that the new field be visited by a priest. The first priest his lordship sent for that purpose was his worthy Vicar-General, the active and energetic J. P. Machebeuf, who later on became the first Bishop of Denver, Colorado. Father Machebeuf found the church of San Xavier to be the only one in Arizona which had not been completely ruined. He saw, however, that the vaults of the once beautiful temple had been greatly injured by leakage, and his first care was to have a coat of mortar put on the outside surface, in order to prevent any further damage. The repairs, which no doubt saved the structure from falling to pieces, were effected by means of voluntary work or contributions of the poor people who lived in the vicinity at that time. The Indians of San Xavier had not entirely forgotten what they had been taught by



THE NAVE OF SAN XAVIER CHURCH.

the old missionaries. As soon as they heard that a priest was coming amongst them, they rushed to the church and rang the bells to welcome him as the minister of God. They listened to his instructions and brought their children to be baptized. In a very short time Father Machebeuf ascertained that the natives still knew some prayers, and, to his amazement, even two or three were able to sing a mass. Another agreeable surprise awaited the priest when he saw the Indians bringing to him several church articles, which they had kept in their houses for years lest they should be carried off by strangers.(1)

In March, 1864, the Rt. Rev. Bishop came to Arizona and held the visitation at both San Xavier and Tucson. Father C. Mesea attended the former and Father L. Bosco the latter mission. Both priests were members of the Society of Jesus.

In September 1873 the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Mo., established a day school at San Xavier for the Pápago Indians. They occupied the quarters formerly used as a convent by the Franciscans. It was closed again in April 1876 for want of means.

“It may be asked here what were the means the missionaries had at their disposal for the erection of such structures. According to the writers of the *Rudo Ensayo* and *Noticias Estadísticas*, the churches were built by the missionaries with the sole product of the land assigned by the government to each one of the missions, which land was cultivated by the Indians under the direction of their respective ministers. To this resource we might add the product of the live stock, which was considerable at times in several of the missions, and also what the missionaries were able to spare of the scant allowance of provisions which were issued to them by the govern-

(1) For the information contained in this chapter we are indebted principally to “Mission San Xavier del Bac,” pages 9-15, and Archbishop Salpointe’s “Soldiers of the Cross,” p. 185-188; 259-264.

ment, amounting yearly to \$300 for each one. This explains why the building of the churches required so long a time, and also why some of them remained unfinished in some of their parts.’

“The church, as can be seen by its arches, surpassing the semicircle and the ornamental work in low relief which covers the flat surfaces of some parts of its walls, belongs to the Moorish style. The first thing to be noticed is the atrium, a little enclosure 66x33 feet, which separates the church from the plaza, and which was used, for the place of meetings relating to matters not directly connected with religion.

“On the frontispiece, which shows the width of the church with its two towers, is placed, in low relief, the coat-of-arms of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi. It consists of an escutcheon, with a white ground filled in with a twisted cord, and a cross on which are nailed one arm of Our Savior and one of St. Francis, representing the union of the disciple with the Divine Master in charity and the love of suffering. The arm of Our Lord is bare, while that of St. Francis, is covered. On the right side of the escutcheon is the monogram of Jesus the Savior of men, and that of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the left. The frontispiece was surmounted by a life-size statue of St. Francis, which has now gone pretty nearly all to pieces under the action of time.

“The church, which is built of stone and brick, is 105 by 27 feet inside the walls. Its form is that of a cross, the transept forming on each side of the nave a chapel of twenty-one feet square.

“The building has only one nave, which is divided into six portions, marked by as many arches, each one resting on two pillars set against the walls. Above the transept is a cupola of about fifty feet in elevation, the remainder of the vaults in the building being only about thirty feet high.

“Going from the front door to the main altars, there is on the right hand side wall a fresco representing the coming of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples. Opposite to it is the picture, also in fresco, of the Last Supper. Both paintings measure about 9 by 5 feet.

“In the first chapel to the right are two altars, one, facing the nave, with the image of Our Lady of Sorrows standing at the foot of a large cross which is deeply engraved in the wall, and the other one with the image of the Immaculate Conception. In the same chapel are two frescoes representing Our Lady of the Rosary and the hidden life of Our Savior. The opposite chapel is also adorned with two altars. One of them is dedicated to the Passion of Our Lord, and the other to St. Joseph. There are also two paintings, the subjects of which are: Our Lady of the Pillar, which represents the Mother of God appearing at Saragosa, and the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple.

“The main altar, is dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the patron saint the Jesuits had chosen for the first church they had established in the mission. When erecting this more spacious building, the Franciscan Fathers retained the name and protection of St. Francis Xavier. Above the image of St. Francis Xavier is that of the Holy Virgin between the statues of Sts. Peter and Paul, and at the summit of the altar piece is the bust of God, the Creator. The pictures seen on the walls near this altar, on the right hand side, are, “The Adoration of Wise Men,” with the “Flight into Egypt;” on the left, “The Adoration of the Shepherds” with the “Annunciation.”

“The altars, and especially the principal one, are decorated with columns and a great profusion of arabesques in low relief, all gilded or painted in different colors, according to the requirements of the Moorish style. Besides the images mentioned, there

are the statues of the twelve apostles, placed in the niches cut in the pillars of the church, and many others, representing generally some saint of the Order of St. Francis. There are also in the dome of the cupola the pictures of several personages of the Order who occupied a high rank in the Church.

“Going again to the front door, we find two small openings communicating with the towers. The first room on the right, which is formed by the inside of the tower, is about twelve feet square, and is used for the administration of baptism.

“A similar room, which is of no particular use now, but which corresponds to the mortuary chapel of the old basilicas, is located in the left tower. From each one of these rooms commence the stairs, cut in the thickness of the walls, and leading to the upper stories. Starting from the baptistery, the second flight reaches the choir of the church. A good view of the upper part of the monument can be had from that place.

“There are also some frescoes worth noticing. These are the Holy Family, facing the main altar; St. Francis, represented as raptured by heavenly love, in a fiery chariot; St. Dominic, receiving from the Blessed Virgin the mission to promote the devotion of the Rosary in the world; and the four Evangelists with their characteristic attributes.

“Two flights more lead to the belfry, where are four rough and home-made bells of small size. Twenty-two steps more bring the visitor to the top story, and under the little dome covering the tower, an elevation of about seventy-five feet above the ground. Here one may have a good view of the beautiful and extensive Santa Cruz Valley and surrounding mountains. One of the towers was never completed, probably for want of means; it lacks the dome and the plastering from the second story upward.

“On the west side of the church, separated from it



INTERIOR OF SAN XAVIER.

by a narrow passage, is an enclosure with an opening on the north and a small chapel standing at its western side. The ground enclosed was formerly used as a cemetery, and the chapel was the place where the dead bodies were kept until the ceremony of the burial could be performed.

“On the east side of the church is the mission building, which formerly occupied a somewhat extensive space, and consisted of the rooms necessary for the priests, of a soap factory, and stores for the provisions. Besides, there were several farm houses conveniently located on the mission land. Of these buildings there are now only two rooms making a body with the church, and four rooms extending south and facing on the church plaza. All these rooms were repaired by the government in 1873, with the consent and under the supervision of the Bishop, and used as schoolrooms until 1876.

“The little butte adjoining the church, and surmounted by a cross, shows on its top the crater of an extinct volcano.

San Xavier, like all other missions, flourished until the year 1810, when the cry of “Independence” was heard all over Mexico. Thereafter they suffered either from revolution, or for want of aid, until the blight of “*secularization*” or rather confiscation (7) fell upon the once happy refuges of the poor natives.

This calamity put an end to mission prosperity in Pimería Alta as well as elsewhere under Spanish Masonic rule. On September 13th, 1813, the Spanish Córtes, dominated by Free Masons, passed a decree to the effect that all missions in America that had existed ten years should at once be given up to the Bishop, “without excuse or pretext whatever, in accordance with the laws.” The missionaries might be

7) See Franciscans in California 151-154.

appointed if necessary as *temporary curates*, and one or two might remain in each district where they had convents and had been serving as curates; but with these few and temporary exceptions they must move on to new conversions, and must at once yield the management of the temporalities to royal *comisionados*; the mission lands were to be reduced to private ownership, and the neophytes were to be governed by their town councils and the civil authorities. (2)

This was called "secularization," in other words, consigning to profane use what had hitherto been devoted to the spread of religion and the welfare of the natives. Confiscation or plunder would have been the proper name for the transaction; for "these [secularization] laws, whose *ostensible* purpose was to convert the missionary establishments into Indian pueblos, their churches into parish churches, and to elevate the Christianized Indians to the rank of citizens, were after all executed in such a manner that the so-called secularization of the missions resulted only in their plunder and complete ruin, and in the demoralization and dispersion of the Christianized Indians." (3)

In defense of the arbitrary and foolish measure, the enemies of the Jesuit and Franciscan mission system declared that no injustice was done the missionaries; that the missions were never intended to be permanent establishments; that they were to give way in the course of some years to the regular ecclesiastical system, when the civilized Indians would be formed into parishes, attended by a secular clergy. (4)

The Franciscans, on the other hand, took an entirely different view of their work among the natives; nor did they enter upon their missionary duties with

(2) Bancroft, *Hist. Calif.* Vol. II, 399-400.

(3) Dwinelle, *Colonial History*, as quoted by Gleeson Vol. II, 118; Banc. IV, 49-53. (4) Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.* II, 399; 431-438; Gleeson, II, 110.

the understanding that after a certain time, to be limited by those who knew nothing of the needs of the natives, they would have to leave their wards and seek other fields of labor. From the first the Fathers contended that the missionaries stood to the Indians in *loco parentis*, and therefore had exclusive control of them and their property. "The standard position of all the missionaries was that *the Indians* were absolute owners of the soil and all the mission property, but that they were still children requiring parental control, and that the missionaries alone were qualified to exercise that control." (5)

For this reason the Fathers made strenuous efforts to secure for their wards what of right belonged to them. The land belonged to the Indians, they steadfastly claimed, and should be turned over to them only when they were capable of taking care of it themselves. When that time was at hand no one was capable to decide except their guardians, the missionaries. Doubtless the Fathers in the Pimerías took the same stand, though there is no record extant of their missions or the steps they took after the decree passed. Their conduct in this matter may be easily concluded from the action of the California Fathers.

However, the motives which urged the change at a time when the Indians were entirely unprepared for the measure, were other than those assigned by the government. "Beneath these specious prettexts," says Dwinelle in his Colonial History, "was, undoubtedly, a perfect understanding between the government at Mexico and the leading men in California, that in such a condition of things the supreme government might absorb the Pious Fund, under the pretense that it was no longer necessary for missionary purposes, and thus had reverted to the State as a *quasi* escheat; while the co-actors in California should

(5) The Franciscans in Calif., 153; 266. Banc. Hist. Cal. II, 434; III, 309-310.

“appropriate” the local wealth of the missions by a rapid and sure process of administering their temporalities.” (6) It was for this reason the arguments of the Fathers were without avail: they were arguing with men whose aim was plunder.

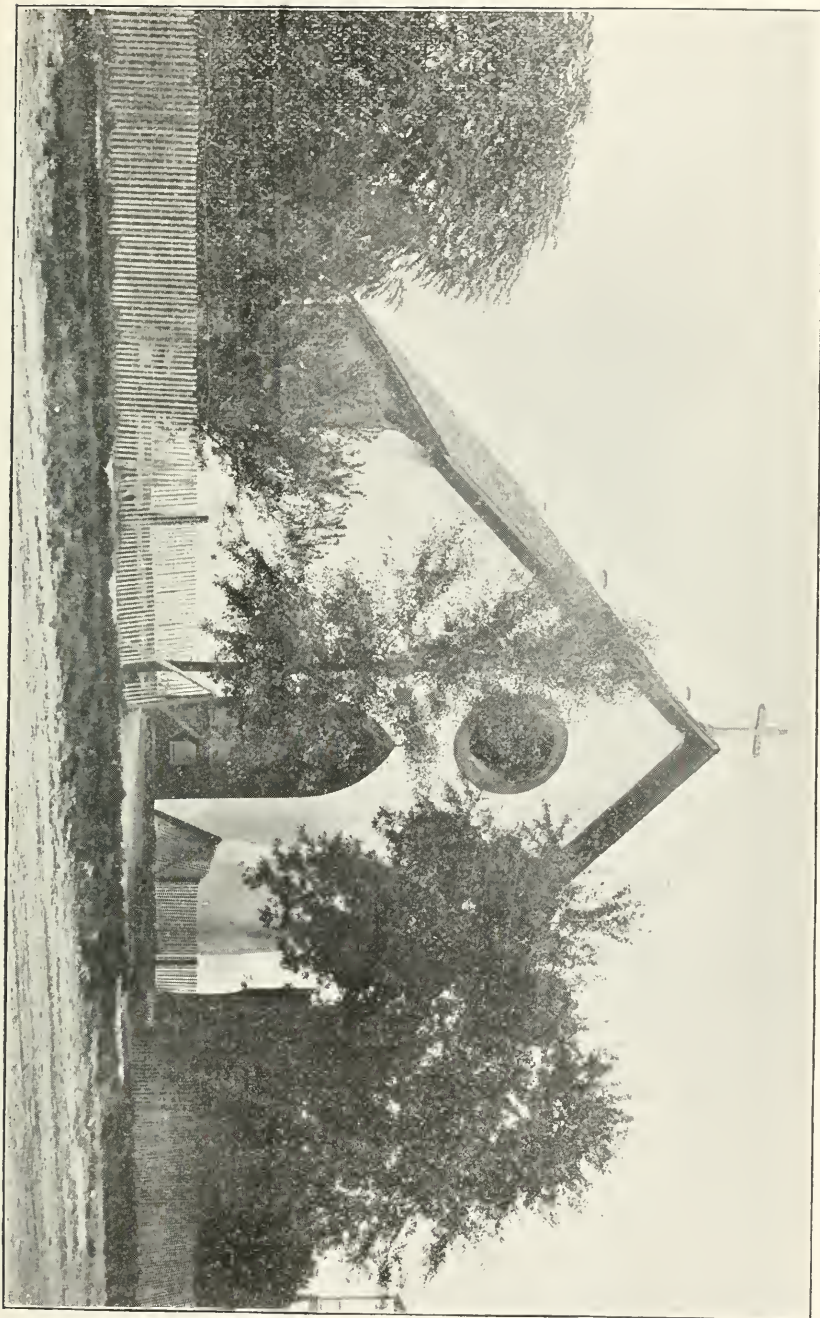
After an unexplained delay of seven years, the royal confirmation of the decree of secularization was published by Viceroy Venadito on January 20th, 1821. The news was at once forwarded by the Fr. Guardian of the monastery of San Fernando, Mexico, to Fr. Payeras, the prefect of the California missions, with instructions to comply at once with the requirements of the decree by surrendering the administration of the temporalities to the government, but to insist on exact inventories and other requisite formalities.

He was also to notify the Bishop that the Fathers were ready to give up the missions as soon as demanded. Accordingly, in July he notified Governor Sola that the missionaries rejoiced at the prospect of being free to engage in new spiritual conquests, or to seek retirement at their college. A similar notice was sent to the Bishop of Sonora, and a corresponding notice was forwarded to all the missionaries.

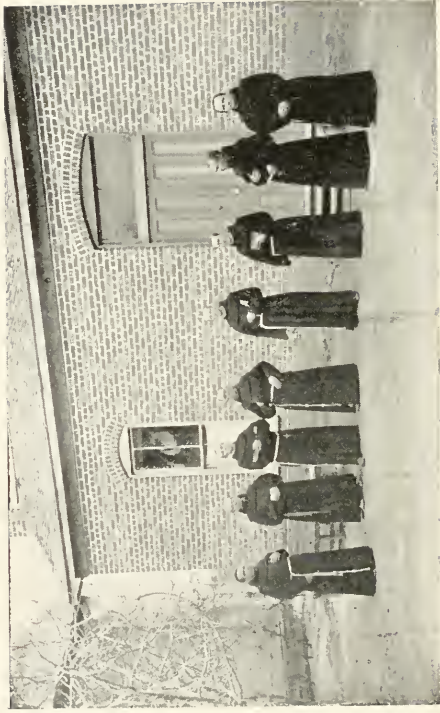
“In the communications of the Fr. Guardian and the Fr. Prefect,” says Bancroft, “there appears no word of protest, no complaint, but only joy as at relief from a burden.” . . . “In his letter to the Fa-

(6) Gleeson, II, 118.

“The decree ordering this commences as follows: “The Cortes General and Extraordinary, considering that the reduction of common land to private property, is one of the measures most imperiously demanded for the welfare of the pueblos, and the improvement of agriculture and industry, and wishing at the same time to derive from this class of land AID TO RELIEVE THE PUBLIC NECESSITIES, A REWARD TO THE WORTHY DEFENDERS OF THE COUNTRY, AND RELIEF TO THE CITIZENS NOT PROPRIETORS, decree, etc., without prejudice to the foregoing provisions, one half of the vacant land and lands belonging to the royal patrimony of the monarchy, except the suburbs of the pueblos, is hereby reserved, to be in whole or in part, as may be deemed necessary, hypothecated for the PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT, ETC.” (Gleeson. Hi. t. Cath. Church in Calif., Vol. II, 113.



CHURCH AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA.



THE FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA.

thers, Fr. Payeras exhorts them to have all in readiness, both temporal and spiritual, so as to reply with sonorous voice to the first lawful call, whether ecclesiastical or political, *Domine, ecce adsum.*" (7)

In 1821 Mexico declared itself independent of Spain and established a government of its own. The Fathers in California all took the oath of allegiance to the new government, and very likely the Fathers in Sonora did the same. The government was overthrown, however, and another established to which the majority of the Fathers refused to swear allegiance. Like Fr. President Duran they declared that they were tired of taking so many oaths, when oaths seemed to have become mere playthings. "I offer," he wrote "an oath to do nothing against the established government, and if this be not accepted, I am resigned to the penalty of expatriation which the constitution imposes." (8)

What action the Fathers in Sonora took is not known; but it seems all declined the oath and were expelled, at least there is no mention of a Franciscan in Arizona or Pimería Alta after 1824. With their departure also departed the prosperity of the missions.

CHAPTER III.

SAN XAVIER DEL BAC—BISHOP BOURGADE'S ANXIETY AND GENEROUS OFFER—PHOENIX ACCEPTED—FIRST FATHERS AND BROTHERS—HISTORY OF ST. MARY'S—IMPROVEMENTS—CHANGES—WORK OF THE FATHERS.

The Indians of San Xavier del Bac were thus left

(7) Banc. Hist. Cal. II, 432-433; Franciscans in California, 152.

(8) Franciscans in California, 156; Banc. Hist. Cal. III, 7; 16-19; 87.

to themselves until the arrival of the Very Rev. J.P. Machebeuf. The ecclesiastical authorities, however, could barely provide for the needs of the Mexicans and immigrants from the States, so that much to their regret little could be done for the Pápagos beyond saying Mass occasionally at the old church. Naturally, ignorance and immorality resulted from half a century's want of instruction and guidance.

Among the Bishops of Arizona the Rt. Rev. P. Bourgade above all keenly felt the condition of the thousands of Indians under his jurisdiction, and he made every effort, for a long time in vain, to enlist some zealous priests or religious in their behalf. Thus in the fall of 1886 his lordship offered Mission San Xavier del Bac to the Franciscans through the writer, while the latter was staying at Fort Yuma for his health. As a further inducement the Bishop offered to give \$4,000 in money and a Mexican parish besides by means of which the Fathers could establish and maintain themselves for some years. This was a most generous offer, as it deprived the Bishop of his entire income.

The writer was willing to undertake the task, but owing to the scarcity of Fathers the earnest desire of the good Bishop to have the Franciscan Fathers in Arizona could not be gratified until nine years later. At his urgent request the Very Rev. Michael Richardt, O. F. M., provincial of the Province of the Sacred Heart, towards the close 1895 at last accepted St. Mary's congregation at Phoenix, (1) and with it the care of the Pima, Maricopa, and other Indian tribes. Fr. Seraphin Lampe of Fruitvale, California, was appointed superior, and Fr. José Godyol of Pájaro, Cal., was made assistant. Both arrived on January 12th, 1896. Two weeks later Fr. Novatus Benzing of St. Louis was added to the community and

(1) Phoenix is about 130 miles northwest of Mission San Xavier del Bac.



MOST REV. P. BOURGADE.

reached Phoenix with Brothers Ildefons Lethert and Robert Rechsteiner.

The congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, composed of Mexicans and English speaking Catholics, was founded in 1881. The first church was erected in the same year under the direction of Rev. Ed. Gerard, the parish priest of Florence. The new structure was blessed on June 24th of the same year by the Rt. Rev. J. B. Salpointe, Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, assisted by Rev'ds. Fr. Gerard, Deraches of Prescott, Chaucot of Yuma, and A. Jouvenceau of Tucson. Before the advent of the Franciscans St. Mary's was in charge of Rev. Gerard from its foundation to 1883; Rev. Joseph Bloise from 1883 to 1886; and Rev. F. X. Jouvenceau from 1886 to 1895. The latter had as assistants the Rev. P. Timmermans, and from 1892 to 1895 the Rev. M. Vandermaesen.

Soon after the arrival of the Fathers in 1795 the old adobe church proved much too small and unsuitable for its purpose. Under the direction of Brother Adrian Wiewer, the provincial architect, and at the hands of Brothers Eugene and Ildefons the old structure before long assumed quite a different and more agreeable appearance. A vaulted ceiling was put in early in 1897, the roof repaired, and a new floor laid. Two new altars, a communion railing, and other needed furniture were added during the summer. A new brick foundation gave the building solidity, and a new sacristy supplied a long-felt want. The dwelling which received the Fathers on their arrival consisted of two small adobe buildings besides a small brick house containing two rooms. Early in 1897 a convent for the community was erected, according to plans prepared by Br. Adrian, at a cost of \$10,000.

A new school house of brick for the Mexican children completed the material work of the Fathers

at Phoenix for the year 1897. The erection of this school building was one of the greatest needs of the parish of St. Mary's. The poverty of the Mexicans here is so extreme and their ignorance so surprising, that most of them scarcely know what is necessary "*necessitate praecepti ad salutem.*" The result is that many lead bad lives, and that the pastoral work of the Fathers among them is very difficult and discouraging.

In July 1896 Fr. Seraphin Lampe was transferred to Pájaro, Calif., when Fr. Novatus Benzing succeeded to the office of superior and rector of the parish. On account of age and ill health Fr. José Godyol returned to California, and was succeeded by Fr. Severin Westhoff of St. Louis, Mo. In October of the same year Fr. Alban Schwarze of St. Louis was also stationed at Phoenix. Towards the end of November 1896 the Very Rev. Commissary Provincial for California, Fr. Clementin Deymann, arrived at St. Mary's in the hope of recovering his health; but he expired a few days later, a victim to Bright's disease. His remains were brought to Sta Barbara, Cal. (2)

In order to arouse the people to a sense of their duties, two Paulist Fathers from San Francisco, Rev'ds Clark and Doherty, were invited to conduct a mission for non-Catholics at the opera house from January 17-23, and another for Catholics at the church from the 24-31; but owing to the astonishing religious indifference of the people the missions resulted in little permanent good.

In 1897 the 'Catholic Social Union' was established for the purpose of withdrawing the people from sinful amusements by offering them opportunities of entertaining and amusing themselves in a Christian manner. The society meets at 'St. Anthony's Hall,' on the second floor of the Mexican Catholic school.

(2) See "Franciscans in California," pages 461-463.

The Sisters' academy on Monroe and 4th Streets, having been built originally by and for the parish under the direction of the secular priests preceding the Franciscans, was utilized by the Sisters of Mercy until the summer of 1898, when it was again turned over to the parish. The congregation of St. Mary's shouldered the debts and gave the Sisters two building lots situated on Monroe and 4th Streets towards the east.

During the past two years some changes occurred among the Brothers stationed at Phoenix. Br. Ildefons was transferred to Santa Barbara in the beginning of July 1897. Br. Erasmus replaced him until December when he, too, was sent to California. Br. Robert was called to Watsonville, Calif., and his place was filled by Br. Anthony Huelsbring during the latter part of 1897. Br. Frederic Zeller arrived in October of the same year.

In the beginning of June 1897 the Very Rev. Louis Haverbeck, O. F. M., of Cincinnati, O., held the canonical visitation at the convent; and on September 1st the Very Rev. Kilian Schlösser, O.F.M., Commissary Provincial for the Commissariat of California, which includes Phoenix, arrived here on his way from St. Louis, where he had attended the chapter. He again called upon the community for the purpose of holding the annual visitation in November 1898. The Very Rev. Fr. Theodore Arentz, Minister Provincial of the Province of the Sacred Heart, paid the community a visit on his way to California in the same year.

The Fathers practically have charge of entire Maricopa County, in which besides Phoenix they attend Tempe, Mesa, Buckey, Gila Bend, Wickenburg, Santo Domingo, and Fort McDowell, together with the various Indian tribes of Pimas, Pápagos, and Maricopas. These tribes have been visited by the Fathers more than a century ago, as may be seen from the

preceding pages. The Catholics at Tempe on the Salt River are visited every two weeks. At this place a little school was erected early in 1898 for the Mexican children.

For the Pima Indians at Santa Cruz, about fifteen miles southwest of Phoenix, a church was built in the summer of 1897 and placed under the patronage of St. John the Baptist. A small schoolhouse and dwelling for the teacher are in course of building near the church for the Pimas. The missions are visited at intervals by Fr. Severin.

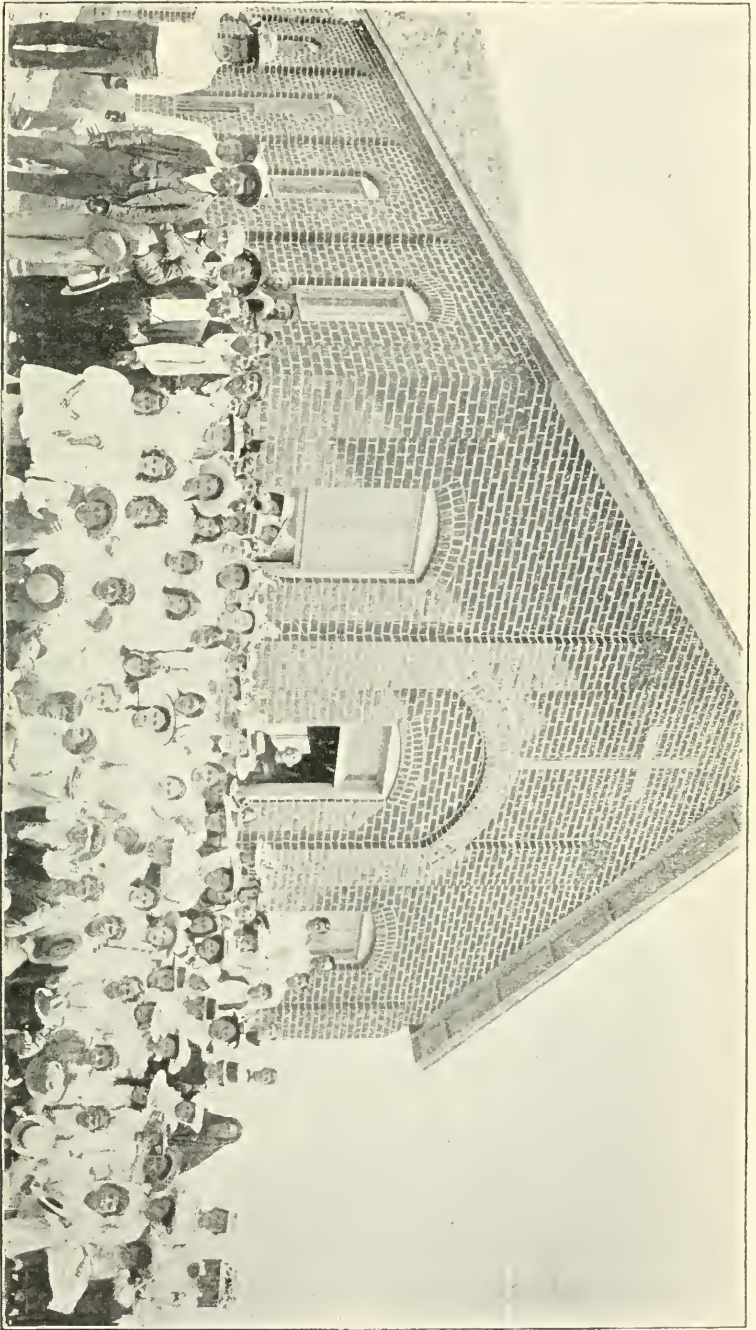
The most important station outside of Phoenix is Tempe. As early as March 10th, 1889, a little church was blessed there by the Rt. Rev. Vicar Apostolic and dedicated to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. Since the Fathers took charge, the building was renovated and a dwelling for the priest erected. The cemetery adjoining the church was removed to a tract of land outside the town. (3)

CHAPTER IV.

THE MOQUIS—VARIOUS EFFORTS TO CHRISTIANIZE THEM—THEIR STUBBORNNESS—THEIR MISFORTUNES—THE NAVAJOS—RT. REV. J. A. STEPHAN—REV. MOTHER KATHARINE—FOUNDING OF THE NAVAJO MISSION—THE FIRST FATHERS—PROSPECTS.

While the Indians of Pimería Alta, or southern Arizona, were more or less submissive to the missionaries, the natives of the region north of the Gila River, sometimes called Moqui, (1) after the year 1680 remained stubbornly insensible to all missionary efforts. The principal reason probably was that the

(3) See "Franciscans in California," 491-492. (1) See page 25, this work.



SCHOOL AT TEMPE, ARIZONA.

missionaries were too much subject to the whims of civil and military officers, so that gradually they shared in the hatred with which the Indians regarded the soldiers.

The Moquis, in particular, persistently refused to submit to Spanish rule. Governor Martínez of New Mexico, in August 1716, marched to the Moqui country with sixty-eight soldiers accompanied by Fathers Antonio Camargo and Domingo Araos. Fr. Camargo at the time was the custos of the Franciscan province of New Mexico. Some of the Moquis seemed willing to submit, but the people of Gualpi (2) refused. The expedition therefore returned to Santa Fe on October 8th without having effected anything. (3)

In 1724 Fathers Miranda and Irazabel visited the Moqui district, and obtained what they considered favorable assurances for the future; and in 1730-1731 Fathers Francisco Archundi and José Narvaez Valverde seem to have had a like experience. Some time previous Fr. Francisco Techungui had entered Moqui and brought away five Tiguas to Isleta without being molested. This shows that when the missionaries were at liberty to deal with the natives alone, they were successful as a rule. The Moquis had no objections to Christianity itself, provided it left them independent of the Spaniards. (4)

In 1742 Fathers Delgado and Ignacio Pino went to the Moqui towns, and succeeded in bringing away 441 apostate Tiguas, who before the great revolt had lived in the pueblos of Sandia, Alameda, and Pajarito, New Mexico. (5)

In 1743, and again in 1744, the Fathers desired to enter the Moqui towns, but the governor of New Mexico refused to give the required permission. In the following year, 1745, however, Fathers Delgado, Irigoyen, and Juan José Toledo obtained the re-

(2) Volpl. (3) Bancroft, *Hist. New Mexico*, 231; Haines, *New Mexico*, 115; 118. (4) Banc., *Hist. N. M.*, 329. (5) Banc 243-244.

quired license. With an escort of 80 Indians under an ex-soldier they visited the Moqui villages, and counted 10,846 Indians who gladly listened to their instructions. (6)

In 1755 Fr. Rodriguez de la Torre, with a small party of neophytes, visited the Moqui towns. He was well received and permitted to preach. As usual, whenever the masses showed any sign of yielding to the persuasion of the missionaries, some chief would rise, and with his authority put to naught the priest's efforts by an address in which he would declare the Fathers to be good men, but his people were too old and sensible to become the slaves of the alcaldes. (7)

In June 1775, or possibly 1774, Fr. Escalante spent eight days in the Moqui towns endeavoring to find a road from New Mexico to the missions on the Pacific coast. He reported to the governor of New Mexico and gave a description of the pueblos. He found 7,494 souls, two thirds of whom were at Oraibe in seven pueblos on three separate mesas. The Moquinos were well disposed, but their chiefs had determined not to give up their power.

With a party of nine, including Fr. Francisco A. Dominguez, in 1776 he endeavored to reach Monterey, California, but instead arrived at Utah Lake. They were the first white men to enter that region. Scarcity of food forced them back to Santa Fé by way of Moqui. The Moquinos furnished food and shelter, but refused to become Christians, much less Spanish subjects. (8)

Fr. Garcés, as we have seen, (9) reached the Moqui in July 1776, but they would neither admit him,

(6) Bancroft, *Hist. New Mexico*, 246: See 'Franciscans in New Mexico.'

(7) Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona*, 256. The Father heard a curious story there, that the Moquils had a board on which they had made one mark each year since the revolt of 1680; when the board should be covered with marks, they would submit to Christianity.

(8) Bancroft 262; "Franciscans in New Mexico. (9) *Vida Chapter IX.*

nor listen to him, nor would they offer him food. The attempt to starve poor Fr. Garcés away from their country was visited upon the Moquis themselves. A failure of crops only a few years later reduced the people to such straits that in August 1780 forty families offered to migrate to New Mexico, if the Governor would come in person to bring them. Anza started in September 1780 with Fathers Fernandez and García, and visited all the towns, two of which were completely abandoned. The forty families had been forced by hunger fifteen days before to go to the Navajo country, where the men had been killed and the women and children seized as slaves. Moqui affairs were indeed in a sad condition. Only 798 were left of the 7,494 souls Fr. Escalante had found in 1775. No rain had fallen in three years, and in that time deaths had numbered 6,698. Of 30,000 sheep 300 remained, and there were but five horses and no cattle. Only 500 fanegas (10) of maize and beans could be expected from the coming crop. Pestilence had aided famine in the deadly work, and the raids from the Yutas and Navajos had never ceased, so that some of the people themselves believed their misfortunes a judgement for the treatment of Fr. Garcés four years previous.

Despite this sad state of affairs, the chief at Oraibe haughtily declined a load of provisions to relieve immediate wants, as he had nothing to offer in return. He refused to listen to the Fathers, and in reply to Arza's exhortations declared that as his nation was apparently doomed to annihilation, the few who remained were resolved to die in their homes and in their own faith. Yet his subjects were free to go and become Christians; and finally thirty families were induced to depart with the Spaniards including the chief of Gualpi. (11)

(10) Fanega—about one bushel,

(11) Banc., Hist. New Mexico and Arizona 265-266; Haines, 119.

The Navajos (12) attracted still more attention than the Moquinos. Fathers Delgado and Irigoyen started in March 1744 by way of Jemes, New Mexico, for the Navajo country. They found about 4,000 Indians who were apparently eager to become Christians and receive missionaries. The viceroy accordingly authorized the founding of four missions in the Navajo country under the protection of a garrison of thirty men. This was in 1746. Fr. Menchero, the visitador, took up the plan with much zeal. He visited the gentiles in person, and by means of presents and promises induced five or six hundred to return with him and settle temporarily at Cebolleta in the Acoma region; but nothing came of all the great plans. (13)

In this condition, independent of all Christian influence, the Navajos remained down to recent years. It is true, some years ago two Protestant ministers opened a "mission" at Fort Defiance for the Navajos, but despairing of ever mastering their singularly difficult language, they limit their ministrations to preaching to the children in the *non-sectarian* (?)

(12) "The Navajo, since first known to history, have occupied the country on and south of the San Juan River in northern New Mexico and Arizona extending into Colorado and Utah. They were surrounded on all sides by the cognate Apaches, except upon the north, where they meet Shoshonean tribes." Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, page 54.

The name "Navajo" is undoubtedly of Spanish origin. It is generally supposed to be derived from the Spanish word "NAVAJA," which means clasp-knife, and to have been applied, because the NAVAJO warriors carried great stone knives. According to Salpointe, page 61, it means "large family." They call themselves DINE, which means MEN OR PEOPLE; they belong to the Apache stock

(13) Banc. 247-248. According to Salpointe, page 102, two missions were actually established in 1746 while Don Anza was Governor. These were Sevilleta and Encinal, distant twelve leagues from each other, and five or six leagues from the old missions of Acoma and Laguna, along the Cabelo River. The missions were very promising when, on June 24th, 1750, the Indians deserted and returned to their old haunts, leaving the vestments in charge of the Laguna mission. (State Archives, No. 852.)

For further particulars regarding the Navajo and Moqui regions, which were attended by the Fathers of New Mexico, see "Franciscans in New Mexico."



FR. RAPHAEL HESSE, O. F. M.

government school at that place. Hence only a few children living outside the reservation among Catholics have been baptized. As far as could be ascertained, these are the only baptized Christians of that numerous tribe.

It was again Bishop Bourgade whose efforts for the Indians brought the means of salvation to the very door of the Navajo country. At his solicitation the Catholic Indian Bureau, Washington, D. C., became interested in their cause. The result was that on October 28th, 1895, the well known Director of the Bureau, Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. A. Stephan, purchased 160 acres of land at a place called Ciénega Amarillo, outside the reservation, in order to establish a Catholic mission for the Navajos. The incipient mission is situated a quarter of a mile south of the Navajo Indian Reserve, 27 miles northwest of Gallup, New Mexico, the nearest railroad station on the Santa Fé Route, eight miles south of Fort Defiance, Apache Co., Arizona, and 45 miles from Ft. Wingate. The purchase was made at the direction of the Rev. Mother Katherine Drexel, foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for the Conversion of Indians and Negroes, whose motherhouse is at Maud P. O., Pa. Thereupon Rt. Rev. Stephan and Rev. Mother Katharine petitioned the Franciscan Fathers of the Province of St. John the Baptist, Cincinnati, to accept this difficult but most promising missionary field. At a meeting of the definitors held at Cincinnati on Oct. 13th, 1897, the Very Rev. Provincial Raphael Hesse presiding, the mission for the Navajos was unanimously accepted. At the chapter, held on July 26th, 1898, Fathers Juvenal Schnorbus and Anselm Weber, together with Brother Placidus Buerger, were selected from among a number of volunteers to pave the way for future spiritual conquests in northern Arizona.

There was an incomplete stone building on the

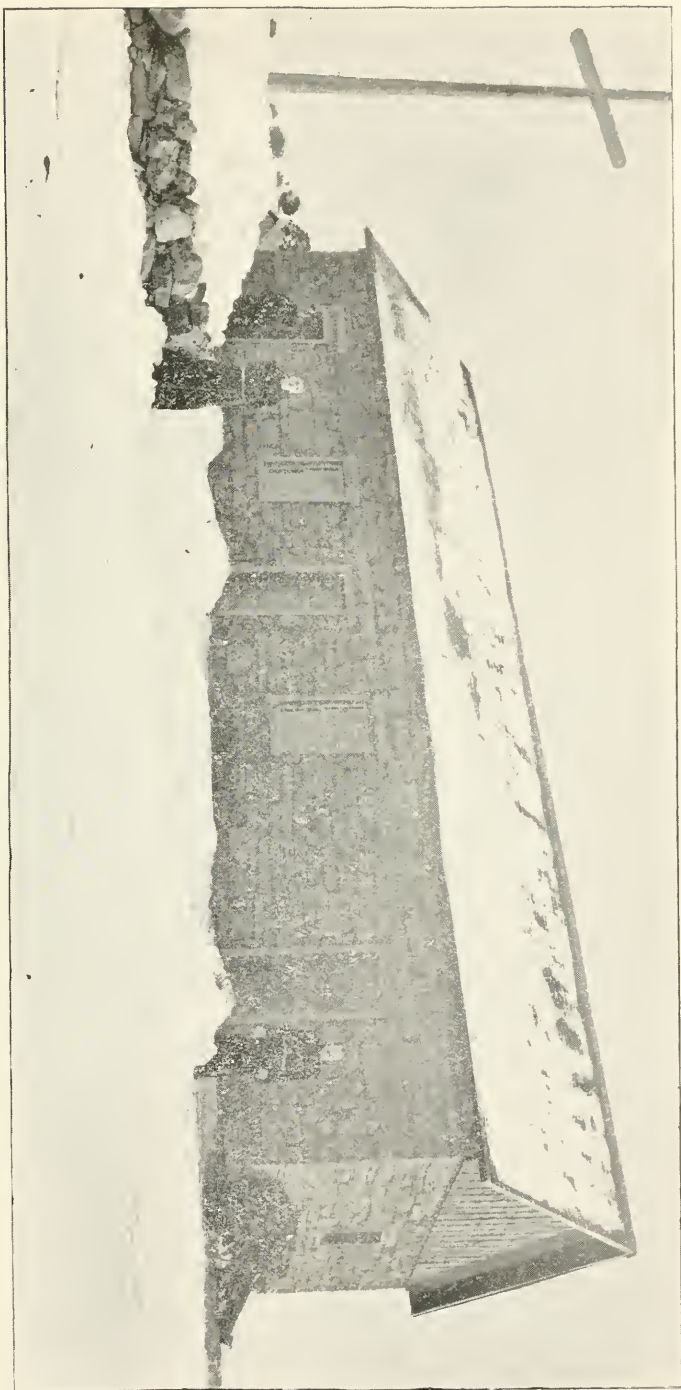
proposed mission site, but in no condition to receive a religious community. Fr. Juvenal was, therefore, sent out to Arizona on August 3d, in order to finish the structure, and make arrangements for the reception of the missionaries. This was not a pleasant task, as the material had to be brought up from Gallup, New Mexico, a distance of 27 miles. The transportation cost much more than the material itself. Nor were expert laborers abundant or willing. The work was at last brought under way, when Fr. Juvenal returned to Cincinnati.

On October 3d the three seraphic pioneers left the mother-house on the Ohio River, and turned their faces westward. They arrived at Gallup on the morning of October 7th, and towards evening entered their future home. The chapel was blessed on October 9th, and dedicated, like the whole mission, to the prince of angels, St. Michael.

Unfortunately very few of the Indians understand any other than their own tongue, hence for some time the principal hardship of the Fathers will be the learning of the Indian language, a most wearisome task, as the language has yet to be constructed, for there are no Navajo books to consult. It is the only way, however, to do effective work and gain the confidence of the natives. Realizing this condition of things, the Fathers in the Navajo mission have entered heart and soul into the work of hastening the time of their usefulness by collecting words and constructing a dictionary together with a grammar. After nine months of energetic efforts they have gathered as many as three thousand words.

Meanwhile an old log cabin has been fitted up to receive a limited number of boys for the purpose of education. The intention is to begin mission work with the little ones. For this reason Rev. Mother Katharine has resolved to erect a large boarding school, and place it in charge of her Sisters.

MISSION OF ST. MICHAEL AMONG THE NAVAJOS.



In this work the Fathers and Sisters have one advantage over the missionaries of old: They are independent of civil or military chicanery, the bane of the old Spanish missions, since the new convent is situated outside the Indian Reservation.

Mission San Miguel de los Navajos comprises the whole territory of the Navajo tribe, located principally in northeastern Arizona, but extending into New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. The reservation has an area of 16,500 square miles, and an Indian population of about 20,500 souls, according to the census of 1898, only 1,000 of whom wear citizen's dress. The Navajos, therefore, are the most numerous Indian tribe west of the Rocky Mountains. East of the Rockies only the Cherokees in the Indian Territory, and the Sioux in the Dakotas can boast of greater numbers. (14)

The Moqui reservation joins the Navajo country on the west and south, and may be considered part of the district that fell to the share of the Franciscans of the Province of St. John the Baptist. Theirs is an immense field, but it promises a rich harvest if a sufficient number of zealous and prudent men are set to work.

(14) See Appendix for Indian population of Arizona.



APPENDIX.

Petition of Fr. President Barbastro, and Reply of Don Fages Regarding the Martyrs of the Colorado.

(See Note 5, page 151.)

“Sr. Teniente Coronel D. Pedro Fagez,

Fr. Francisco

Antonio Barbastro de la regular observancia de N. S. P. S. Francisco, hijo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro y Presidente de todos los misioneros que dicho Colegio tiene en esta Pimería Alta, sabiendo que V. tiene pasado de orden del Sr. Comandante General D. Teodoro de Croix, Comandante de la expedicion que Su Señoría despachó á los arruinadas Misiones del Rio Colorado, se persuade está instruido de todo lo acaecido en su destruccion, y por esta causa comparece en su nombre y de su santo Colegio ante Vm. y me dice. Que aunque es notoria en esta Primería Alta la religiosidad, zelo del bien de las almas y virtuoso proceder (como puede hacerse patente con repetidos argumentos) de los RR. PP. apostólicos é hijos de mi santo Colegio Fr. Juan Diaz, Fr. Francisco Garcés, Fr. José Matías Moreno y Fr. Juan Barreneche, muertos inhumanamente por los gentiles y neófitos de la Nacion Yuma, en cuya conversion estaban empleados, necesita una informacion juridica:

1. De la conducta, zelo y fatigas extraordinarias que se les vieron poner para lograr la conversion de aquellos gentiles, y el conato que pusieron para que los soldados y demas españoles que asistian en las Misiones, cooperarsen á este fin, y á la perseverancia de los neófitos en su primitivo fervor.

2. Si están libres aun de ser causa remota de los alborotos que ocasionaron la ruina de las Misiones, y si trabajaron cuanto los fué posible para impedir la desde que fué temida.

3. Qué día y á qué hora fué su muerte, y con qué instrumentos les quitaron la vida.

4. En qué día se recogieron sus venerables cenizas; y el estado en se hallaron.

5. Si al exhumar sus cadáveres se observaron algunas circunstancias que infundieran devocion.

6. Si se saben algunas otras circunstancias que persuadan sea santa su muerte delante del Señor.

En todo lo cual recibiré favor, y digo, *tecto pectore*, no ser esta mi súplica por fin alguno siniestro. Para que conste donde convenga, lo firmo en este pueblo de Sta. Teresa, en 4 de Febrero de 1782.

Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbastro, Presidente.

En atencion á la solicitud del informe que antecede y V. R. me presenta con fecha 4 de Febrero del corriente año, que contiene 6 puntos concernientes á los RR. PP. Fr. Juan Diaz, Fr. Francisco Garcés, Fr. José Matías Moreno y Fr. Juan Barreneche, muertos últimamente por los gentiles de la Nacion Yuma, arreglado á las declaraciones bajo de juramento, y á lo demas que he podido adquirir de algunos cautivos y causa, cuyas diligencias me fueron precisas en cumplimiento de mi obligacion por hallarme comandando la expedicion, respondo á los expresados seis puntos en la forma que sigue:

En cuanto al primero digo: que con virtuoso proceder, ejemplos, modestia y caridad, estaban dedicados dichos religiosos al santo fin de atraer al conocimiento de la verdadera Ley, la numerosa gentilidad de aquel establecimiento, sin escusar fatiga alguna, dirigiéndose por los montes á la solicitud de todos regalándoles cuanto tenian, y que jamás se vió en ellos otro interés que el fervoroso anhelo de recoger al rebaño de la Iglesia á los que están sin conocimiento de ella, procurando al mismo tiempo que los soldados y demas españoles cooperarsen al mismo fin.

En cuanto al segundo, digo: que en nada fueron causantes del alboroto y ruina de dichas misiones, ni

remotamente, y se persuade que no dejarían de cooperar con aquel primitivo fervor apostólico á impedirle.

En cuanto al tercero, digo: que como á las diez de la mañana del día 19 de Julio de 1781 á palos dieron muerte á los RR. PP. Fr. Francisco Garcés y Fr. Juan Barreneche; y lo mismo ejecutaron el día 17 de dicho, como á las ocho de la mañana, con los RR. PP. Fr. Juan Diaz y Fr. José Matías Moreno, y á este despues de muerto le cortaron la cabeza con una achá, quedando las venerables cenizas tiradas en los mismos sitios que padecieron sacrificio.

En cuanto al cuarto, digo: que los dos RR. PP. Fr. Juan Diaz y Fr. José Matías Moreno como á las diez de la mañana del día 7 de Diciembre último hallándose el cuerpo del R. P. Fr. Juan Diaz, lo que hace las coyunturas de todos los huesos enteros y la cabeza casi incompleta, pues se conoció por el cerquillo, que lo tenia entero, su cabello en ser, y las uñas de las manos pegadas, cuyas señales no demostraban hacia mucho tiempo que le dieran muerte. El cadáver del R. P. Fr. José Matías Moreno se halló con la cabeza menos, y aunque descoyuntados sus huesos se encontraron todos juntos con varios pedacitos del santo hábito y cordon, como tambien una cruz de un Santo Cristo que sin duda acostumbraria llevar consigo. Los cadáveres de los RR. PP. Fr. Francisco Garcés y Fr. Juan Barreneche se encontraron como á las diez de dicho día 7 de Diciembre último, los que estaban enterrados en el campo casi incorruptos y sepultados juntos, compuestos en sus paños menores.

En cuanto al quinto, digo: segun informe del capitán de caballería D. Pedro Fueros, quien presencié que ambos cuerpos estaban casi frescos y enteros, en especial el del R. P. Garcés, y que á orillas del sitio donde estaban sepultados, habia nacido mucha manzanilla muy olorosa, con la circunstancia de que los

que asistieron con dicho capitán, aseguraron que no habían visto en todas aquellas inmediaciones, y que según declaran algunos cautivos y cautivas, una india que los estimaba mucho había hecho la buena obra de enterrarlos, dejando por señal una cruz pequeña de palo, por lo que se conoció el sitio.

En cuanto al sexto, digo: según declaración de los cautivos y cautivas, que cuando el alevoso insulto de los gentiles, asistió á bien morir á los que estaban padeciendo sacrificio, llamando á voces, queriéndolos confesar y absolver, sin temer el que le dieran muerte, el mismo R. P. Fr. Juan Barreneche, quien se les aparecía y desaparecía á los enemigos inhumanos, sin que lograran hacerle daño, hasta que acabaron su enorme atentado: y que en el pueblo de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Bicuñer oyeron cánticos suaves, y de noche les parecía que andaban en procesion al contorno de la Iglesia, en cuyas inmediaciones se hallaban tiradas las venerables cenizas de los RR. PP. Fr. Juan Diaz y Fr. José Matías Moreno, y que este ruido les causó temor para arrimarse á dicho pueblo.

Que es constante como los cuatro RR. PP. que anteceden trabajaron continuamente en la conversion de los gentiles de aquel establecimiento, á fin de atraerles al conocimiento de la verdadera Ley, sin escusarse á salir á los montes, solicitándolos por las rancharías, regalándo les cuanto tenían; y que el R. P. Garcés pasó á bautizar hasta la nacion de Jalchedunes, y el R. P. Barreneche á los Cocomaricopas, sin temor del riesgo á que se exponian, sin mas interés que recoger al rebaño de la Iglesia aquellas pobres almas. Todo lo cual certifico sobre las informaciones que bajo la formalidad del juramento recibí, como ya dejo espresado. Y para que conste donde convenga firmé en el Pític de Caborca, á 16 de Febrero de 1782." (*)

Pedro Fagez.

(*) Historia del Apostolico Colegio de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, por el presbitero José Francisco Sotomayor, Zacatecas, 1874.

The Colorado River Mission Sites.

(See page 153.)

The author here desires to correct a statement made by him and published in the Catholic Historical Review of New York in 1886 or 1887. While at Fort Yuma in 1886 he wished to find the exact spot where the Fathers on the Colorado had perished. Not having at hand Arricivita's account, and finding old chief Pasqual with his Indians denying that there ever were priests at Fort Yuma, he addressed Dr. Gilmary Shea regarding the point in question, and received the following reply:

"The mission of La Purisima Concepcion was at the Port of that name on the Colorado river on the westside. The mission of San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer was three leagues *north* of it.

"The map in Father Palou's work is not very clear; he makes the two missions parallel to a point between San Diego and Santa Barbara. This would bring them within the United States; but he puts them south of the Gila which takes them out."

Thus far Dr. Shea. The eminent historian was mistaken in declaring that, if the missions were south of the Gila, they must have been beyond the boundary of the United States.

Dr. Shea also erred in stating that San Pedro y San Pablo del Bicuñer lay three leagues *north* of Concepcion. The Indians at Yuma, indeed, insisted that a mission had been on the hills north of Yuma, a distance of about ten miles. They knew of but one, however. Rev. J. M. Chaucot, for 14 years pastor at Yuma City, agreed with them that the site of Mission Concepcion was at the foot of the mountains, ten miles north. In company of an Indian, therefore, the writer made a trip on horseback to the spot indicated. He found some remnants of a stockade and

of some buildings which might have been erected at a later date by miners or immigrants just as well. The Indian insisted that that was the place, and that the Mexicans after the destruction had come to find the gold which the Fathers were said to have concealed. This led to the report published in the Historical Review.

Since then the "Cronica Serafica" of Arricivita came into the possession of the writer. There we find the following statement which leaves no room for doubt:

"El dia once de Mayo llegaron á el Puerto de la Concepcion en el Rio Colorado. Está este á la *otra* [i. e. California] banda del rio, situado *poco mas abaxo de la junta de los rios, en unos cerros de mediana elevacion, que forman el Puerto, por donde el rio Colorado, que se extiende tanto por los llanos, pasa muy recogido, y luego vuelve á extenderse: esto lo hace de la mas deliciosa vista, muy alegre, y el mejor sitio para poblacion, porque esta inmediato al rio, y libre de sus crecientes, aunque en su mesa solo cabrán la Iglesia y pocas casas.*"

"They reached the Port of Concepcion on the Colorado River on May 11th. This is situated on the *other*" (California) "bank of the river, a little below the junction of the rivers, on an elevation of moderate height, which forms the port through which the Colorado river, which takes such a wide course through the land, passes much narrowed, and soon resumes its broad course. It offers a most delightful and pleasant view, and a better location for the people, because it is close to the river, and free from its overflows, although on its top there are only a church and a few houses." (1)

From this passage it is clear that Mission Concepcion was on the very spot once occupied by a

(1) Arricivita, 467.

garrison of U. S. soldiers and called Fort Yuma, Calif., opposite the mouth of the Gila River. It is now a school in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet. (2)

Again on page 503 Arricivita says:

“Llegaron al Puerto de la Concepcion, *que era el parage* destinado desde el principio para establecer la Mision de los Indios.”

“They reached the port of Concepcion, which was the spot designated from the beginning for establishing a mission among the Indians.”

Furthermore, on page 510 Arricivita tells us:

“Llegaron al rio Colorado, y vadeado al *Puerto de la Concepcion y primer pueblo.*”

“The [soldiers] arrived at the Colorado, and crossed it at the *Port of Concepcion* and *first pueblo* or town.

Again Arricivita declares on page 535:

“Pusose el primero [pueblo] en el *Puerto de la Concepcion.*”

“Y a las tres leguas distante del otro se puso el de San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.”

“The *first pueblo* was founded at the *Port of Concepcion.*” “And *three leagues* distant from the other was established that of San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.”

The location of each is quite plainly described on pages 503-4:

“No obstante todo lo dicho, trato el Comandante de que se estableciera el *segundo pueblo* en los Yumas *de abajo, tres leguas distante del primero*, y . . . se fundo el de San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.”

“Notwithstanding all that was said, the Comandante resolved that the second pueblo among the Yumas should be established *below, three leagues from the first*, and, thus was founded that of San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer.”

(2) See page 152, this work.

INDIANS IN ARIZONA.

(See Note 14, page 211.)

COLORADO RIVER AGENCY, YUMA COUNTY.

Mojaves: Male, 348; female, 335; total. 683.

Chemebueves in Chemebueve Valley, about forty miles north of the agency, but not residing on the reservation: 141. (1)

Mojaves, independent. About Ft. Mojave, Arizona, and Needles, Cal., from 80 to 125 miles north of the agency, dwell the majority of the Mojaves who never could be induced to retire to the reservation. They number about 1,700.

Until recently no religious denomination ever attempted to work among these Indians whose forefathers treated Fr. Garcés with such great kindness. During the past two years an Episcopalian minister has labored among them and baptized 125 of the tribe. The minister then received an offer to work in a more advanced field, and therefore left the reservation in April 1898.

“The Mohaves living in the vicinity of Needles and Fort Mohave, are in a deplorable condition as to morals and progress toward civilization,” Agent Mc Nichols reported in August 1898. “They retain the vices of a border railroad and mining town. Drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution prevail to a shocking extent. . . . They live under sheds made of sticks in summer, and in sweathouses or artificial caves in winter. When one of their number dies all his property, ponies, etc., is burned along with the body. In addition, relatives sacrifice large amounts of property, buying calicoes, silks, and clothing to add to the splendor of the funeral pyre. This custom, a-

(1) Annual Reports, of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1898, pages 111 and 598.

long with drunkenness and gambling, absorbs all the Indian's earnings, and leaves the children and aged destitute." (2) The same is true of the Yumas on the Colorado River, and generally wherever the natives are left to themselves near white settlements.

FORT APACHE AGENCY.

This agency comprises all the territory north of the Black River, and includes the White Mountain Apaches. *Apaches*: Males, 836; females, 1,002; total, 1,838, a gain of 24 over the year 1897.

Hualapais, 598; *Yava Supais*, 261.

The German Lutherans have entered this reservation and built a neat cottage for the preacher on ground allotted to him. The denomination contributed \$1,217 in 1897 for work among the Apaches, and \$215 for the Hualapais. There are no church members reported. (3)

PIMA AGENCY.

There are four distinct reservations of Indians of three different tribes of Indians embraced in this agency. The largest near Phoenix has 357,120 acres of land.

Pimas: 4,260; *Maricopas*: 340; *Papagos, nomadic*: 2, 046; *Papagos* near San Xavier del Bac: 531. Of the San Xavier Indians 210 are Catholics; they are visited twice a month from Tucson. Among the Pimas, Maricopas, and roving Pápagos there are five male and two female preachers, presumably Presbyterians, at work at a cost to their denominations of \$4,100 in 1897. The total church membership is only 174 souls, who are addressed in four church buildings. For the Catholic Indians there are two churches: one at San Xavier del Bac nine miles from Tucson, and one at Santa Cruz fifteen miles southwest of Phoenix. There are Catholic schools for the Indians at both

(2) Annual Reports, page 112; see page 153, this work.

(3) Annual Reports, pages 115-116; 598-599.



NAVAJO INDIANS IN HOLIDAY ATTIRE.

places. The school at San Xaxier is conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Mo., for 37 girls and 46 boys. (4)

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Apaches: 2,806; *Mojaves*: 697; total, 3,503. A Protestant preacher of an unknown denomination is laboring among the Apaches, but there are no church members on record. (5)

NAVAJO AGENCY.

The *Navajos* number 20,500 souls. According to Annual Report of 1898, two male and three female preachers of the Methodist persuasion endeavor to make converts to their peculiar ideas; but no church members are reported.

The *Moquis* are 2,641 strong, and tolerate one male and two female Menonite preachers. Church members there are none on record in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1898. (6)

Hence in Arizona there are still more than 38,000 Indians, (7) among whom but a mere handful recognize their Creator. Thus it will be seen that "*El reino de San Francisco*," "The kingdom of St. Francis," (8) i. e., Arizona, in the words of the Divine Master, appeals to the children of the Seraphic Saint with a loud voice:

"Behold I say to you: Lift up your eyes, and see the countries, for they are white already to harvest." (John IV, 35.) "And seeing the multitudes, He had compassion on them, because they were distressed, and lying like sheep that have no shepherd. Then He said to His disciples: The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth laborers into His harvest." (Matt., IX, 36-38:)

(4) Annual Reports, p. 129; 598-599. See also page 204, this work.

(5) Annual Reports p. 598-599. (6) Annual Reports p. 123-124; 598-599.

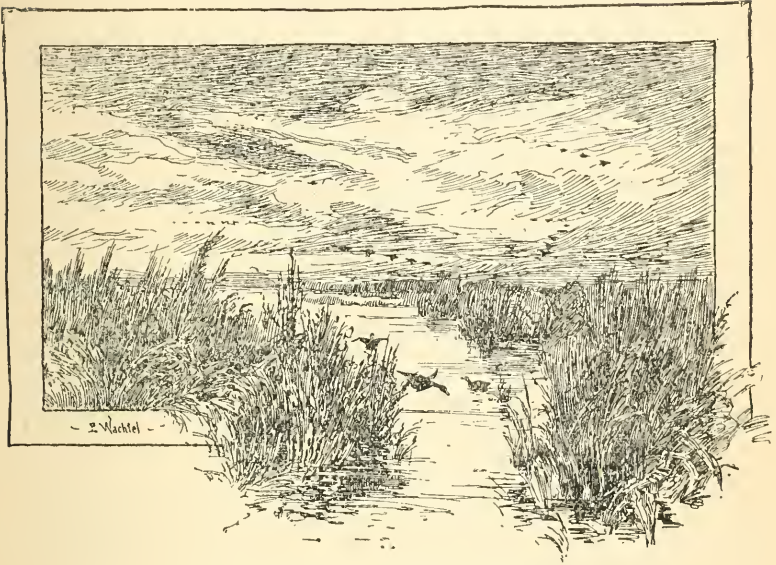
(7) This number does not include the Yumas on both sides of the Colorado River. (8) See page 14 this work.

List Of The Franciscans Serving In Arizona And Northern
Sonora From 1538 To 1826.

Adan, Manuel,	Gallo, Matias,
Agorreta, Juan Joseph,	Gamarra, Felix,
Ahumada, Antonio,	Garaicoechea, Juan,
Amorós, Pedro,	Garcés, Francisco Hermenegildo,
Araos, Domingo,	García, Diego Martin,
Archundi, Francisco,	García, Francisco Solano,
Arriquibar, Pedro,	Gil, Diego,
Asuncion, Juan de la,	Gil de Bernave, Juan C.,
Barbastro, Francisco Antonio,	Gomez, José,
Barreneche, Juan Antonio,	Gonzalez, Faustino,
Baltran, Francisco	Gorgol, Juan,
Baltran, Bernardino,	Guillen, Felipe,
Borloy, Mariano,	Gutierrez, Andrés,
Buena y Alcalde, Mariano,	Gutierrez, Narciso,
Cabrera, José Maria,	Ibañez, Fiorencio,
Caja, José,	Irazabel, ?
Calzada, Ambrosio,	Irigoyen, ?
Cunargo, Antonio	Iturralde, Francisco,
Carrillo, Baltazar,	Jimenez Vincent Bartolomé,
Carrasco, Manuel,	Jurado, Francisco,
Carzoll, Juan,	Liberós, Ramon,
Clemente, Gaspar de,	Llorenes, Juan B.,
Collazo, Angel,	Lopez, Ramon,
Cristóbal, Brother,	Maducho y Cobo, Fernando,
Cruz, Juan de la,	Maldonado, Juan,
Delgado, Carlos,	Martínez, Alonzo,
Diaz, Antonio,	Menchero, Juan M.
Diaz, Juan,	Miranda, Antonio.
Diaz, Rifael,	Monures, Roque,
Dominguez, Francisco,	Mora, José,
Eixarch, Tomás,	Moreno, Clemente,
Ezeobar, Francisco,	Moreno, José Matías,
Escalona, Brother,	Mota, Pablo,
Escalante, Silvestre, V.	Moyano, Francisco,
Espeleta, José de,	Nadal, Pedro,
Espinosa, José Maria,	Nelderain, Juan B.,
Estelric, Juan B.,	Niza, Márcos.
Felix, Hdefonso,	Ocalá, Antonio G.,
Fernandez, ?	Padilla, Juan de,
Figueroa, José de,	Perez, José,
Flores, Sebastian,	Pino, Ignacio,
Font, Pedro,	Ponce de Leon, Fernando,

Porras, Francisco de,
Prado, Alonso,
Ramirez, Joaquin,
Ramirez, José Ignacio,
Ramos, Antonio,
Rijarch, Clemente,

San Buenaventura,
Santa Maria, Agustin de,
Simó, Lorenzo,
Socias, Bartolomé,
Soler, José,
Techungui, Francisco,



ON THE COLORADO RIVER.

Ric, José del,
Roche, Francisco,
Romero, Francisco,
Ruiz, Gregorio,
Salazar, Estévan,
Sanchez, Andrés,
Saravial, Manuel,
Sarobe, Juan.

Tobas, Francisco,
Toledo, Juan José,
Valverde, José Narvaez,
Vario, Juan,
Velarde, Joaquin Antonio,
Villaseca, Francisco,
Zuñiga, Francisco S. *

* Banc., Hist. Arizona, 379-380; Banc., Hist. Tex. I, 725; Salpointe, 144.

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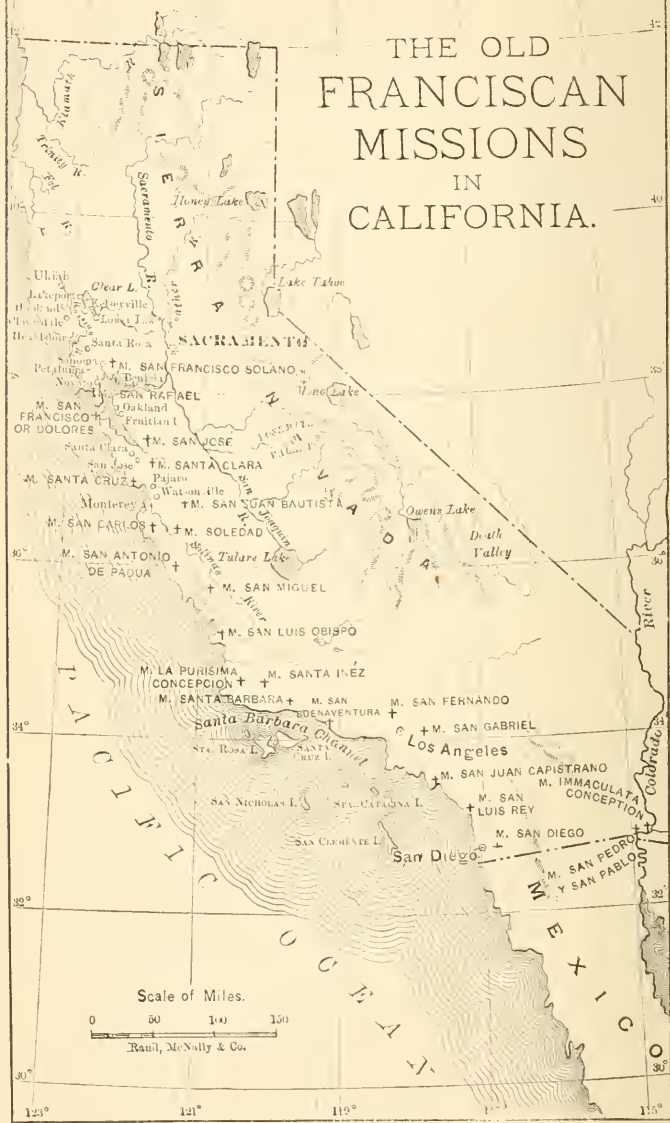
Corrigenda.

(In some copies.)

- Preface page 11, laborers for labors.
Page 1, line 6, the for te.
.. 2, .. 19, from bottom read—cross for crossed.
.. 6, .. 1 read—decided for decided.
.. 10, note, read—It for If.
.. 22, line 13, read—Bill for Big.
.. 22, .. 11, Conversion of St. Paul.
.. 28, read—Bill for Big Williams.
.. 42, first line omit—in.
.. 42 line 10 read—recommended for recomended.
.. 60, first line read—of for fo.
.. 66, read—known for know, in third line of note.
.. 66, read—having, in last line.
.. 67, read—Puebla for Pueblo.
.. 73, read—north of Guevavi for south.
.. 78, read—Sebastian for Sabastian.
.. 80, read—passed a laguna, in the last line.
.. 94, line 8, of note read—detestable for detestible.
.. 107, read—Cnabajais for Cubabajais.
.. 118, read—Aguage for agnage, in the note.
.. 119, read—Poza for Poza, in the note.
.. 144, omit—pre, in last line.
.. 152, line 14, read—dilapidated for delapidated.
.. 159, read Barreneche for Barraneche.
.. 174, read—waive for wave, in last line.
.. 182, read—field for field, in the note.
.. 183, read—fight for flight.

O R E G O N

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THE FRANCISCANS IN CALIFORNIA

BY

Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.,
Author of "The Franciscans in Arizona,"

WITH A MAP AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM.

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SOME KIND WORDS

From the Most Rev. Archbishop of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1897.

Rev. and Dear Father,

Please accept my thanks for the copy of your work "The Franciscans in California" which you have been kind enough to send to me.

I have had time to only "dip into" it, but from what I have read, I believe it to be an excellent and opportune contribution to the ecclesiastical historical literature of the country.

Yours faithfully in Dno.

✠ P. J. Ryan, Archb.

*From the Rt. Rev. Henry Joseph Richter, D. D.,
Bishop of Grand Rapids, Michigan.*

Grand Rapids, Mich., Nov. 7, 1897.

Rev. Dear Father:

Please accept my thanks for your book entitled: "The Franciscans In California." I have not had time to read the book through; but what I read I found very interesting. I wonder how amid your many labors you could find leisure for the research which the composition of your valuable contribution to history required. I think the German proverb: "Lust und Liebe zum Dinge, macht alle Muehe und Arbeit geringe." is applicable here. It certainly was a labor of love to a son of St. Francis to describe the trials, labors and achievements of his brethren, especially to one engaged in a similar work.

I am Rev. Father,

Sincerely yours in Xto,

✠ Henry Joseph,
Bp. of Gd. Rapids.

*From the Rt. Rev. George Montgomery, D. D., Bishop of
Monterey and Los Angeles, California.*

Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 27, 1897.

Rev. and Dear Father:

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of "The Franciscans In California," and to thank you for the noble work that you have done in gathering together the scattered fragments of history of those missions, which even yet are the glory of California.

There is one thing that I regret is absent in the work, except a mention of it from time to time, namely an accurate account of the secularization of the missions. If you would ever bring out a second edition I would suggest that you add, as a kind of appendix, a history of that secularization and a vindication of the missionaries.

There are the most erroneous ideas abroad concerning the matter, and scribblers in all kinds of publications sometimes take upon themselves to give out a so-called history of those things which is only perpetuating falsehood. With such an appendix the book would be invaluable.

There is manifested at present a disposition to appreciate more fully and fairly the work and worth of the Franciscan missionaries in California. As you may know we have here in Southern California a "Landmark Club," whose purpose is to preserve the historic monuments of the State; and it is a significant fact that the first work done by them is to preserve, at least in their present state, the old missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Fernando. They have spent several thousand dollars on these missions with that view. The Club is headed by a most enthusiastic and able non-Catholic literary man, Mr. Chas. Lummis, and the Club is entirely non-Catholic, so far as support is concerned.

Besides there is a growing admiration for the mission architecture here. All over this part of California we see it represented in buildings of almost every character.

As a chronicle of facts your book is invaluable, and I hope that you may be asked sometime to bring out a second edition to which you can make the appendix I suggest.

You deserve much credit for printing and publishing it at your Indian school. I send you a few dollars. I wish it were in my power to send more, but you know we have here many poor Indian missions.

Yours very truly,

✠ Geo. Montgomery,
Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles.

From the Rt. Rev. Thomas Grace, D. D.,
Bishop of Sacramento, California.

Sacramento, Cal., Nov. 9th, 1897.

Rev. Dear Fr. Engelhardt.

I return my most sincere thanks for your valuable and timely work "The Franciscans In California." For us who live here the book is a treasure, and for all who are interested in the missionary enterprise of the Church it is most valuable and entertaining.

Sincerely and thankfully,

Yours in Our Lord,
Thomas Grace.

From the Very Rev. Raphael Hesse, O. F. M.,
Provincial of the Province of St. John the Baptist.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 2, 1897.

Rev. Conf.:

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your book entitled: "The Franciscans in California." Please accept my thanks and congratulations. May the trials and labors of our brethren inspire us to work for the greater honor and glory of God.

Yours in Christ.

Fr. Raphael Hesse, O. F. M.,
Min. Prov.

From the Very Rev. Kilian Schloesser, O. F. M., the Superior
of the Franciscans on the Pacific Coast.

Santa Barbara, Cal., Nov. 18, 1897.

My dear Fr. Zephyrin,

The volume which you have completed amid so many labors and unfavorable circumstances has reached me. Well, now you have reason to be proud of your work, for the book will surely meet with great satisfaction.

Though I have read only a small part, I must admit that the work pleases me exceedingly, above all in its arrangement.

I am with the same old affection, in the Most Sacred Heart,

Yours,
Fr. Kilian.

From the Very Rev. Custos Fr. Maximilian Schaefer, O. F. M.,
Editor German "Messenger of the Sacred Heart."

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 7, 1897.

Dear Father Zephyrin,

Your excellent historical work has surprised me indeed. It offers the best proof of tireless zeal. The work will surely receive approval from every direction, because it is compiled, throughout, from documents and reliable sources. It will therefore serve the historian of the old missions as a fount-

ain where he can obtain reliable information. Please accept my best thanks for sending the book.

With much respect
Your confrere,
Fr. Maximilian, O. F. M.

From the author of "Mission Santa Barbara."

Mission San Luis Rey, Cal., Nov. 10, 1897.

Rev. dear Confrater:

Through your kindness I received a few days ago a copy of your work entitled "The Franciscans In California," for which I return you my sincere thanks. I have had but little time so far to look over it, as I intend, carefully, but from what I have noticed hurriedly, I can say you have done very well. You certainly deserve a great amount of credit for the pains you have taken. I hope you may be able to dispose of very many copies. The price is certainly very low. No publishing house in the country could publish it at that price. Send me another copy, and I will remit a money order for the amount. Wishing you all success, I am as ever in SS. Corde,

Your Confrater,
Jos. J. O'Keefe, O. F. M.

From the editor of "St. Anthony's Messenger."

Cincinnati, O., Nov. 16, 1897.

Rev. and dear Confrere,

Today I received your long looked for work "The Franciscans In California." Let me congratulate you most sincerely on the grand work you have brought out in such splendid style. I know well enough the arduous labor spent in the compilation of such a work, and therefore appreciate it all the more. Wishing you God's blessing,

I remain your old friend,
Fr Philip, O. F. M.

From the Secretary of the Historical Society, Philadelphia.

*Author of the "Cyclopaedia Bibliographica
of the Bishops of the United States."*

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 16, 1897.

Dear Fr. Zephyrin,

Your work is the best I have seen for detail and particular history. It gives just what is wanted—Record—without a great lot of multiplied words just to fill up. There is too much imagination put into our histories of all kind, little or none of proof and copy of records.

Sincerely yours
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Mesquit Mission, B. C., A. 7, Brabant, S. 7.

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H. Weber, C. SS. R., New Orleans, La.

It appears to be a splendid and very practical work which reflects much credit upon you. To-morrow we shall begin to use it as English table lecture. *Fr. Polycarp, O. F. M., Teutopolis, Ill.*

We shall read your beautiful and interesting work at table in the refectory. *Sister M. Teresa, Abbess, Poor Clares, Cleveland, Ohio.*

We have received your valuable book and are now reading it in the refectory. *Sister Veronica, Abbess, Poor Clares, Chicago.*

"I am glad you found my labors in the same field of so much service to you, and that you were fair enough to give me due credit."
Hubert Howe Bancroft.

We heartily welcome this history of "The Franciscans in California." By mentioning the original sources on almost every page, the author proves that he has not composed a book by merely copying from books, but that he has labored independently. *"California Volksfreund."*

From the "AMERICA," German Daily, St. Louis, Mo.

In this excellent work the Rev. author not only relates the first attempts of the Spaniards to colonize California, but he also gives a minute history of all the missions that partly, though in ruins, exist to this day.....The volume is compiled from original sources and may be regarded as an important contribution to the history of American civilization.

From the MICHIGAN CATHOLIC.

One of the most valuable books which has ever reached us is, "The Franciscans in California," by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M. The book is printed and published at the Holy Childhood Indian School, Harbor Springs, Mich. The proceeds of the sale of this book will be given for the benefit of the Indian School. This in itself should insure the book a wide circulation. The volume is an excellent contribution to the ecclesiastical literature of America.

From the NEW WORLD, Chicago, Ill.

To the scant list of monographs that we possess on the history of the missions in the early days in this country and on the lives of the zealous men that labored among the Indians and settlers in various parts of the United States, a friar minor of the Seraphic Order has added a valuable contribution.

Imbued with an ardent veneration for those among the sons of the great saint of Asissi who followed Fr. Junipero Serra into California, and with no mean talent for writing a historical narrative, the author, Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, has followed in the footsteps of that legion of men in habit and cowl to whom, as writers of annals and chronicles, we are indebted for much of the knowledge we possess of by-gone days. Although this book does not purport to be a panegyric on the virtues and fortitude of the brave friars, many of whom left the sheltering abodes of learning and their native country to carry the blessings of the faith into that then remote part of the world, one cannot read the records of these missionaries without exulting over the unselfish heroism displayed by the Franciscans in California, and the success obtained by them in dealing with the problem of Christianizing and civilizing the Indian.....

Of so many shattered hopes, of so many missions destroyed and in ruins do these pages tell that we would lay this book sadly down, were it not for the fact that the old Spanish friars, driven from their flocks and cloisters by revolutions and the ignorant and malicious officials of the Mexican Republic, have been followed by a new generation of priests and brothers of the same Order.....

The pictures of the mission churches that adorn the pages of this book, tell us how successful the followers of the great Umbrian saint have been in tutoring the American Indian; and, indeed, the book itself stands proof of this, having been set in type and printed by Indian boys at the Holy Childhood Indian School, Harbor Springs, Michigan, under the supervision of the author. And thus we possess a history treating of Indian missions and missionaries, written by a missionary among Indians, and printed at an Indian school.....

Walter Lecky in the CATHOLIC NEWS, New York.

The "Franciscans in California," by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., is a volume that was sure of a welcome in my den. There is a glamor about these old missions that is positively fascinating. There are no ruins on this continent whose history is so inviting as the old missions of California. I have often envied their lover, Mr. Lummis, his nearness to them. This book is printed and published at the Indian School, Harbor Springs, Michigan.....

The author (in his preface) is unduly modest. His book, despite the drawbacks he mentions, is full of interest, and is written with no little historical grasp and spirit. It was a work of love, and Fr. Engelhardt has but followed his brethren of the cowl in preserving from the past the records of the valiant men and their godly work. There is sorrow in the pages of this book, telling, as it does, the hopes and ambitions of the old Spanish friars, while recalling that nothing remains save the romantic ruins of cloisters and churches. No book of late years should find from Catholics a warmer welcome than Father Engelhardt's. Not only is it valuable to the historian, but its pages will be eagerly perused by all those who love to read a tale of valor and nobleness.

From "THE TIDINGS," Los Angeles, Cal.

Much of the statistical matter pertaining to the missions, described herein, (New Year's souvenir number), is adapted from Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's "The Franciscans in California," a concise but complete compilation of the history of the California missions. This book, the latest and perhaps most valuable of the many works on this exhaustless theme, has but recently been published, and is from the Holy Childhood Indian School, Harbor Springs, Michigan.

From the "CHURCH NEWS" Washington, D. C.

This is a very interesting and valuable book, especially to those interested in the early history of the Church in the West. It contains information taken from the original reports of the missionaries, including the statistics of the missions. Considering the fact that so much that is false has been written regarding the introduction of Christianity into California, we must appreciate a reliable publication treating of the work of the Seraphic Pioneers. As stated in the preface, "Ignorance and malice, through exaggeration and misstatement, have succeeded in making the old Fathers appear in so strange a light that even their

friends fail to recognize them." There is something unique about the volume, it having been written and published at an Indian mission school.

From the "HEROLD DES GLAUBENS," St. Louis.

Fr. Zephyrin, formerly in California, but now missionary among the Indians of Michigan, has studied the sad history of his brethren for many years. In this volume he unfolds in simple language a most touching picture.....The beautiful book is heartily recommended to all friends of Church history.

From the "INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT," Petoskey, Mich.,

Hon. C. S. Hampton, Editor.

A valuable book of historical reference has just been added to the editor's library. It is entitled "The Franciscans in California," and is a history of the explorations and missionary work of the devoted Catholic Fathers on the Pacific coast from the earliest times, together with an interesting summary of the fruit of the seed planted in stubborn soil, but watered by the blood of martyrdom. The work is from the pen of Rev. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., who has charge of the Holy Childhood Indian School at Harbor Springs. The author disclaims all attempt at literary embellishment, his object being to preserve for future ages a correct and comprehensive history of labors of early missionaries, and particularly those of his own order. At the same time the events related are so interesting in themselves, and are told with such strict adherence to the mass of manuscript records through which the author was obliged to wade in order to secure facts, that the book is interesting to every reader, and must be intensely so to Catholics. The most surprising and gratifying thing about the book, however, is that it is a home product, printed by Indians educated and trained at the Harbor Springs mission. That a book of this character, of over five hundred pages, with a large number of illustrations, can be printed in the Indian school printing office in a manner which would do credit to the average city book printing establishment, is the best possible testimonial of the practical benefit of this noble charity, of which the INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT has frequently had occasion to speak.

From the CATHOLIC UNIVERSE, Cleveland, O.

Father Zephyrin, O. F. M., formerly of the Franciscan convent, this city, who has charge of the Indian mission school at Harbor Springs, Michigan, has written a history of the Franciscans in California. It is an intensely interesting and attractive work apart altogether from the literary freshness and sincerity which characterizes it, because the subject of the early missions on the Pacific coast is one that is full of historical and religious interest to Catholics. Many friends of Father Zephyrin in this city will be glad of an opportunity to assist him in the arduous task to which he is assigned, especially when the doing so adds to their literary possessions a volume of rare interest enhanced by the peculiar sense of personal satisfaction arising from their friendship with the author.

From the CHURCH PROGRESS, St. Louis, Mo.

It is a rare pleasure to read a history of the wonderful Franciscan missions of California written by a member of the Seraphic Order and printed by the Indians of a flourishing mission of our own day.

The first part of the book is devoted to the general mission history of California, the twenty-third and last chapter describing the methods pursued in conducting the missions prior to their "secularization" by the Mexican government.

The second part, in twenty-six chapters, gives the local history of each of the twenty-one missions: San Diego, San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Francisco, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, La Purisima Concepcion, Santa Cruz, La Soledad, San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, San Fernando, San Luis Rey, Santa Inéz, San Rafael, San Francisco Solano.

The third part gives the history of their nine houses included in the Pacific Commissariat of the American Friars Minor at the present day: Santa Barbara, Pájaro, St. Turibius, St. Elizabeth's at Fruitvale, St. Joseph's at Los Angeles, St. Francis' at Sacramento, St. Mary's at Phoenix, Arizona, and St. Boniface's and St. Anthony's at San Francisco.

A reading of Father Zephyrinus Engelhardt's narrative cannot fail to impress the mind with the terrible evils associated with that subjection of the church to the State that exists in Spain and the Spanish-speaking countries. From the very beginning the friars engaged in the Pacific coast apostolate suffered from the interference of godless Spanish civil officers, and in the end the Spanish government robbed the mission Indians of no less than half a million dollars. The pious Fund of California, amounting to about \$1,300,000 all contributed by private persons for the support of the missions in perpetuity, with the exception of about \$18,000 contributed by the government, was seized by Spain in 1768, and administered, or rather mal-administered, by her civil officers and those of Mexico, until finally confiscated by the infamous tool of the lodges, Santa Anna, in 1842.

From the WAHREITSFREUND, Cincinnati, O.

An extraordinarily interesting work, "The Franciscans in California," has reached us. The rich and important contents of this exquisite literary work makes it entertaining as well as instructive reading. The world-despising and world-conquering Christian faith, as it was preached amid the greatest hardships to the Indians by the pious sons of St. Francis in the southwest, shines here with a most brilliant light. The labors and expeditions of the Fathers are described so vividly and truthfully that we actually imagine ourselves in the midst of the hardships of those times.....

In our days, when certain individuals seem to strain every nerve to attack and slander priests of religious Orders, it is highly important to draw the attention of the world to the exceedingly great merits of the monks in Christianizing and civilizing distant countries, not the least of which is America.

The writer of this was especially touched by the Rev. author's presentation of the early history of San Francisco and other seaphic settlements. What he there paints to our mind is a vivid picture of faithful labor in the vineyard of the Lord. In spirit we wander amid the wonderful surroundings of the "Golden City," to the venerable groves of the "Big Trees," and to old, picturesque Monterey with the neighboring resting-place of California's famous apostle, the poor, humble son of St. Francis, Father Junípero Serra, whose name, as a noble Protestant American writes, will not perish, and whose fame will not suffer want, be his grave a hundred times deeper, and the real spot forgotten.

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